THE SQUATTERS OF WHITEHORSE

YUKON TERRITORY

report

INDUSTRIAL
DIVISION
DEPARTMENT
OF
NORTHERN
AFFAIRS AND
NATIONAL
RESOURCES

J.R. LOTZ - AUGUST 1961

THE SQUATTERS OF WHITEHORSE
YUKON TERRITORY

J. LOTZ
COMMUNITY PLANNING OFFICER

ABSTRACT

This report presents certain factual information on a group of people living without authorization (or "squatters") on Crown and private land, in and near the city of Whitehorse, Yukon Territory. It includes a description of the types and conditions of buildings in the particular squatter areas, and the services installed in them. It also examines the squatters as a group, their family makeup, racial origin, income levels, social and physical mobility and length of residence in Whitehorse, their attitudes towards relocation, and some of the problems involved in their resettlement.

Area and Community Planning
Section, Industrial Division,
Department of Northern Affairs
and National Resources.

Ottawa, August 1961.

Contents

Contents

TABLES

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) The main method of study used was to interview squatters personally.

(2) "Squatting" has almost the status of an institution in the Yukon generally. While the squatter problem is particularly severe in Lower Whitehorse, it also occurs elsewhere in the area, and at other places in the Yukon.

(3) The squatter problem arose, and was most severe, during the Second World War when the population of the city increased at a rapid rate, without adequate provisions being made either for the sale of lots or control over housing.

(4) The problem has persisted to the present day in part because of the absence of a suitable relocation site in Lower Whitehorse for transients or people of limited income.

(5) There are ten main squatter areas in Lower Whitehorse, all peripheral to the townsite.

(6) The squatters number from one-third to one-quarter of the whole population of Lower Whitehorse.

(7) The present building distribution in the squatter area represents an uneconomical, unhealthy and hazardous use of the land.

(8) There are few commercial buildings in the squatter areas; the majority of buildings are private dwellings.

(9) There is a wide variety of housing types and standards; few dwellings in the squatter areas have a high assessed value.

(10) In general the exteriors of dwellings are in poor condition, although some interiors are of reasonably high standards with every attempt made to render the dwellings comfortable, warm and weatherproof.

(11) There are many substandard dwellings in the squatter areas, including quonsets, cabins and shacks.

(12) Most people of Indian ancestry occupy substandard accommodation, often living in overcrowded conditions.

(13) About two-thirds of the squatter buildings are located on Crown land, the rest stand on land owned by the British Yukon Navigation Company (BYN) or the British Yukon Railway Company (BYR).

(14) Over two thirds of the squatters occupy their own homes (although legally their houses belong to the Crown or to BYN).

(15) Rental costs for accommodation are considerably lower in the squatter areas than in the townsite.

(16) Rental of accommodation in the squatter areas appears to be on a short term basis.

(17) The owners of rented houses live in Whitehorse either as squatters or private residents; there are few absentee landlords.

(18) Sewer and water supply facilities in the squatter areas are at present totally inadequate.

(19) Because of overcrowded and inadequate housing, poor drainage and the threat of water pollution, the squatter areas represent a public health menace to the whole city of Whitehorse.

(20) Most squatter dwellings have electrical power, although no new power connections are being made to squatter buildings on BYN land.

(21) There are few telephones in the squatter areas.

(22) The fire hazard in the squatter areas is very great, and the problem is rendered more acute by the almost complete absence of telephones in some squatter areas.

(23) Heating of squatter homes is usually by wood stoves, although some houses have oil furnaces or oil stoves.

(24) Garbage pick-up is done by the city, but a certain amount of garbage is dumped in the Yukon River and on vacant ground.

(25) At the time of the survey, in November 1960, the squatter population was probably at a minimum.

(26) During the spring and summer there is probably a great increase in the numbers of squatters.

(27) The greatest concentration of squatters is on Whiskey Flats.

(28) Single men make up approximately one-third of the households and about one seventh of the total number of squatters.

(29) Approximately one fifth to one sixth of the squatter households are made up of married couples with children, averaging 3.5 children per family.

(30) The squatter areas are conducive to child neglect, juvenile delinquency and crime although at present the instances of these seem no higher than elsewhere in town, and confined to particular known individuals.

(31) Twenty old age pensioners were living as squatters in the course of the survey. Their living conditions, in general, were extremely poor.

(32) In most areas there was no excessive overcrowding within the houses noted, although this may occur when the summer transient population moves in.

(33) There are significant numbers of new Canadians, Indians and people of Indian ancestry living as squatters.

(34) The lot of the Indians, both of Indian and White status, is extremely depressed.

(35) About a quarter of the households in the squatter areas present serious social problems. About one half of these households contained at least one person of Indian ancestry.

(36) More than a quarter of the households in the squatter areas have no steady source of income.

(37) There is a notable concentration of low income groups among the squatters.

(38) Few squatters have annual incomes over $5,000.

(39) Seasonal employment is a marked feature of the squatter population.

(40) There is heavy reliance on employment with the Department of National Defence.

(41) A significant percentage of squatters are employed in service and commercial undertakings in the city.

(42) Many of the squatters who work are employed in unskilled occupations.

(43) The squatters share the dilemma of the rest of the citizens of Whitehorse in their uncertainty about the future of the city due to its heavy reliance on defence spending.

(44) A few squatters are self-employed.

(45) The cost of living in the squatter areas in Whitehorse is considerably lower than that in the townsite due to savings on mortgages, rents, taxes, etc.

(46) There are no social bars to the movement of squatters into the townsite, if they have the money, the desire and the will to do so.

(47) About half the squatters own vehicles of some kind.

(48) The squatters themselves are a permanent element of the Whitehorse population. While the squatter areas will fill up with transients during the summer, most of the squatters have been residing as such for more than a year.

(49) Relatively few squatters were planning to leave the squatter areas at the time of the survey.

(50) The views of the squatters on relocation varied considerably, ranging from enthusiasm to apathy.

(51) The attitude of the other citizens of Whitehorse towards the squatters also varied greatly, with both sympathy and antipathy being expressed. Very few of the other citizens of Whitehorse really knew who the squatters were, or how they lived.

(52) No animosity towards the interviewer was encountered among the squatters.

(53) No hostility was noted among the squatters towards the Federal or Territorial governments, although BYN was severely criticized by some squatters.

The Federal Government has already proposed sweeping measures for solving the squatter problem.[1] These measures include making land in the townsite available for squatters at a very low price, providing mortgage money for houses below CMHC standards, removing at Federal expense suitable buildings from the present squatter areas to land in the townsite and in the territorial subdivisions, a public housing project and the establishment of a transient area near the city.

1 See Whitehorse Star, March 2 and 9, 1961 for an outline of the proposed urban renewal measures.

The following recommendations are intended to compliment these measures and to indicate the broad lines of an approach designed to solve some of the basic social problems involved in the present squatter situation.

(1) The landlords presently renting dwellings in the squatter areas should be encouraged to move their buildings to another area, preferably outside Lower Whitehorse, and to rent them as accommodation for summer workers.

(2) The city authorities should encourage the YMCA, the Salvation Army, or some similar organization, to establish a men's hostel in Whitehorse, to accommodate the single men in full employment presently living as squatters, and the summer transients who work in Whitehorse in the summer. Such organizations might also be asked to undertake social welfare work in the establishment of recreational facilities, canteens, etc., and to attempt rehabilitation of some of the problem households.

(3) The co-operation of the squatters themselves should be sought in planning any measures to relocate or resettle them. This is a basic concept in proper community development and will make relocation easier both for the official levels of government and for the squatters themselves.

(4) Special consideration should be given to rehousing old age pensioners, many of whom have devoted their lives to working in the Yukon. They might best be relocated in small cabins grouped around a central court. As many of the pensioners as possible should be actively involved in running any special accommodation for senior citizens.

(5) Special attention should be paid to attempts at rehabilitating the problem households. These people should be recognized for what they - individuals with specific problems, not merely social undesirables; every effort should be made to improve their health - both physical and mental - by providing opportunities for self-improvement.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to present the findings of a study of people living on Crown or private land, known as "squatters" in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, carried out during November, 1960. The aim of the study was to gather data on this

group of people, to aid in their relocation and rehabilitation elsewhere. A preliminary report, summarizing the basic statistical data on the number of people involved and the condition of the buildings in the squatter areas, has already been prepared.

The study of Whitehorse squatters, which corresponds generally to urban renewal studies carried out elsewhere by municipal governments and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation was the first on its kind ever prepared for settlements in the Canadian north. For this reason, details are given on the methods of investigation and the approach to the problem in the hope that this report may be of use in future investigations of similar problems in the north. I have attempted throughout to place the group of people under study and their problems into the wider settings of the city of Whitehorse and the Yukon Territory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Studying the squatters in Whitehorse was an interesting and absorbing personal experience. It was made easier by the ready help and co-operation of the following people, whom the writer wishes to thank. The following list, as well as acknowledging the help of many people, will also serve to indicate the scope and nature of the investigation.

A special word of thanks is due to Mr. Erik Nielsen, M.P. for Yukon Territory, for his help and co-operation.

To Mr. F.H. Collins, Commissioner of the Yukon Territory, I wish to extend sincere thanks for help and advice on every aspect of the squatter problem. I would also like to thank Alex Reeve, Executive Assistant to the Commissioner, for his kindness and assistance, and also Frank Fingland (Commissioner's Office), Fred Bickell (Legal Adviser to the Commissioner), Ken Mackenzie (Territorial Treasurer), Herb Taylor (Territorial Secretary). Others in the Territorial Government who were of great assistance include G.I. Cameron (Sanitary Inspector), Grant Starr (Territorial Engineer), Harry Murphy (Head, Department of Welfare), Miss June Metcalf (Social Worker), Jim Whyard (Lands Inspector), Jack Worsell (Sheriff), Cec. Moisher (Bailiff), Harry Thompson (Superintendent of Schools), and Bernie White (Department of Public Works).

Mr. R. MacDougall (Manager, National Employment Office), Bill McDerment (Manager, CNT), and W.E. Grant (Head of the Yukon Indian Agency) provided much useful information. Inspector J. Vachon, officer-in-charge of the R.C.M.P. detachment at Whitehorse gave every help and to two members of his detachment, Corporal R. Schramm and Constable Absil, I am deeply indebted for much information on the squatters.

Dr. J.D. Munroe (Chief Health Officer), Dr. Otto Schaeffer and Mrs. W. Shandro (Public Health Nurse) supplied details of the health problems in the squatter areas.

The Mayor of Whitehorse, Mr. N.V.K. Wylie, was extremely helpful, as was John Thompson, the Town Clerk. Russ Hinds, the City Building Inspector, and Fred Blaker, the City Fire Chief, supplied a great deal of information on the squatter buildings. I am especially indebted to Mr. Hinds for making available maps of the squatter areas.

The religious leaders of the community gave much help and encouragement, and I wish to thank Rev. H.P. Marston (United), Pastor M.K. Gulbis (Lutheran), Rev. Postal (Bethany Tabernacle), Rev. Wayne S. Womer (Church of the Open Door), Rev. Waite (Presbyterian), Rev. Aubrey Ponce (Church of the Nazarene), Fathers Studer, Monet and Triggs (Oblate Fathers), Rev. A.L. Privett (Anglican) and Rev. A.E. Hill (Baptist).

Among business leaders with whom I spoke, Frank Schoeppel, then with the British Yukon Navigation Company, supplied much valuable information on the railway's dealings with the squatters. Egerton King (Manager, Yukon Electric Company), James Boyce (Manager, Bank of Montreal), and N.B. Winsby (Manager, Canadian Bank of Commerce) all threw much light on the problem, and freely gave their views on the future of the city and of the Yukon. Norm Chamberlist (Manager, Whitehorse Electric Co. Ltd.) supplied useful information on methods of approaching the squatters.

Mr. Moberg (Principal, Whitehorse Elementary School) and H. Bugara (Principal, Whitehorse High School) supplied some details on the children of the squatters, and in conversation with Miss Chapman, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Johnson, Miss McMurphy and Mr. Hulland, teachers in these schools, I learnt a great deal about these children.

To Stan McCowan I owe a great deal for information on (and a personally conducted tour of) the new subdivisions along the Alaska Highway.

I would also like to express my appreciation of the help given me by all the citizens of Whitehorse. The squatters with whom I spoke were, for the most part, open and friendly, and talked freely about themselves and their problems. I encountered no hostility and little suspicion in the course of interviewing them. Of the many squatters whom I spoke with, I would like to thank especially Dr. K. Macdonald, Eric Weinecke and Paul Lemieux for their views and co-operation.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank F.G. ("Hammy") Hammond, who assisted me in the survey. It was may good fortune to meet Mr. Hammond early in the survey, and he accompanied me on door to door visits. He knew many of the other squatters personally, and his introduction to them worked wonders. I shall always remember his kindness and hospitality, and that of his wife, in making their home in Whiskey Flats available to me as a base for operations during the survey.

PART I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

PART I THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

THE PROBLEM AND THE METHODS OF STUDY

Purpose of the Study

The main aim of the study was to obtain factual data on the squatter population of Whitehorse, data which had been almost entirely lacking before the survey was undertaken.

In the past there was a tendency in Whitehorse for residents to equate the term "squatter" with the most unreliable element among the population. Vague rumours as to who these people were circulated in place of facts, and the majority of squatters felt they had been misrepresented and misunderstood. In most cases, they co-operated readily with the interviewer when the purpose of the study was explained to them. Two hundred and seventy four representatives of individual households, out of a total of 287, were interviewed.

Method of Study

At first, it was the practice to walk around the squatter areas, making notes on the buildings. The main method employed in the study was to interview people in their homes. Observations were also made on the condition of the interior of the homes, and of the general area. On several occasions, squatters approached the writer and spoke about the problem. A form was filled in for each squatter household listing personal details, and giving a description of each dwelling. In order to avoid misunderstanding and unnecessary suspicion the form was never filled in while talking with the squatter. I assigned each building in each area a number, and after an interview scrawled a few details of each household and dwelling on a small piece of paper. These rough notes served as the basis for the entries on a personal information form. Later, it was possible to make notes during the interview, first asking the permission of the person being interviewed.

During the first two weeks in Whitehorse, conversations with territorial, federal and civic officials, religious leaders and business leaders yielded much information on the squatters, and on possible approaches to them. At the same time, visits to the squatter areas, without active interviewing, accustomed the squatters to the sight of the investigator.

I conducted a few interviews only in the first two weeks, and these mainly "by appointment" with the most reliable of the squatters. After two weeks, however, I was able to employ Mr. Hammond,

a squatter on North Whiskey Flats, as an assistant, and the interviewing began in earnest. Hiring a squatter virtually guaranteed a friendly reception, ensured that no squatter could claim later that he had been promised anything special by a government official (especially since the writer's terms of reference were limited only to collecting factual data) and also meant that two people instead of one could remember facts and details.

Not all the squatters interviewed answered all the questions, but often I was able to garner additional information from other sources. The use of the individual approach made it possible to gather a maximum of factual material on the squatters of Whitehorse. This material is embodied in this report. I should emphasize, however, that the facts about the squatters presented here are those of November, 1960. At this time, seventeen households were in the process of moving out of the squatter areas or expressed their intention of doing so in a few months. No less than 38, or 10.3% of the total number of dwellings were unoccupied; there is every possibility that these buildings will be rented when men looking for work move into the Yukon in the spring of 1961, and seek out the cheapest place in town to live. Even while the survey was being carried out, two or three families moved into buildings in the squatter areas. In North Whiskey Flats, what appeared to be an abandoned house was occupied by a man who had been laid off work in the fall of 1960, his wife and his six children. A few days after they moved in, the next house was occupied by a man of Indian ancestry, also unemployed, his wife and seven children.

It seems likely, therefore, that there will be a cross-movement over the winter and spring of 1960-61 with about 6% of the squatter households in Whitehorse emigrating from the Flats and an influx of 10% or more new squatters (if all the vacant households are occupied and no other buildings erected). At least eleven expectant mothers were noted in the course of the survey.

History of Squatting in Whitehorse

Squatting has almost the status of an institution in Whitehorse and in the Yukon generally. Squatting is a common phenomena in any newly opened area, and much of the early history of the frontier of the United States and Australia can be written in terms of the movement of squatters into empty, marginal areas. In the Yukon, two periods in recent history have provided suitable conditions for the spread of squatting. These conditions were a sudden influx of people into an area, many of whom had no intention of settling permanently, and the absence of authorities to deal with land title registration. With plenty of land available, squatters are liable to establish themselves anywhere and everywhere. Where land is scarce, squatters either crowd the existing areas or seek out poorly drained areas or others not suitable for residential purposes.

The first sudden influx of people into the Yukon occurred during the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898, and is not dealt with in this report. The second sudden influx of people took place during the Second World War, and has resulted in the present squatter problem in Whitehorse. In 1939, there were two squatters living on Whiskey Flats. One of them still lives there, and claims he bought the land from the man who staked it in 1912; he is incensed at others who have squatted on what he considers to be his land.

Before the war, Whitehorse was a small town, with 350 inhabitants in winter and 650 in summer. The town served a large area, because of its location as a railway terminal and at the head of river navigation, but it grew slowly as little developmenttook place in the Yukon.

In 1942, a Japanese force landed in the Aleutians during the Pacific War, and enemy submarines and cruisers operated freely in North Pacific waters. To meet the threat of an invasion of Alaska, supplies, men and equipment were rushed into the area. The strategic position of Whitehorse caused it to boom. It became a road, rail and air centre as the Alaska Highway was driven through the Yukon. The airport lay on the route of planes flying to Alaska, and added importance was given to the town by the erection of a refinery at the end of the Canol pipe line from Norman Wells.

Into Whitehorse poured thousands of servicemen and civilians; at one time, the town's population was estimated at 40,000. As the town boomed, it became obvious how limited suitable land for building there was. Hemmed in between the escarpment and the river, the flat land of the river terrace was soon covered with installations that sprang up around the core of the original settlement. Land and materials for building homes were lacking and people settled where they could, living in dwellings built from any available materials. In 1944 Whitehorse was described as a boom town with the appearance of a "shack town". The first squatters officially reported were Indian and Metis, who settled on railway land north of the townsite in June 1942. Between 1942 and 1944, transients began to squat around the townsite; some 50' x 100' lots were occupied by six or seven small shacks, and squatters were established in alleys and streets.

Squatters were evicted from the north end of the townsite in 1944, but more squatting was reported in the northwest section of town. It was about this time that the move into Whiskey Flats, and on to the 100 foot waterfront reserve, began.

At this time Whiskey Flats was covered with willows and poplars, and much of it flooded in spring and fall. If a squatter was told to move, he merely either towed his cabin elsewhere or built a rough shack in a matter of hours. Instances were cited to the writer of squatterbuildings going up in the space of twenty-four hours. During the survey, several families were interviewed living in cabins that had been recently towed into the squatter areas from other parts of town.

Attempts were made to control the spread of squatting but the only result was to relocate rather than to reduce the squatter population. When the war with Japan ended in 1945, so did the boom. The volume of traffic along the Alaska Highway decreased considerably, the Canol project was abandoned and the airport was little used. By December, 1945, the civilian population of the town had dropped to an estimated 3,680. Whitehorse, at this time, had still the appearance of a shack town, dominated by service buildings and installations. Even at the time of the survey, a large area in downtown Whitehorse was still occupied by an Army establishment, and sections of the Army "spider" type of building are common in the town, in the squatter areas and the new subdivisions along the Alaska Highway.

At the end of the war, Whitehorse had inadequate sewer and water facilities, poor roads and crowded schools. Its future was uncertain, and its growth tied to the development of the Yukon. The results of a plebiscite held in the summer of 1946 to decide whether the town should be incorporated reflected the ratepayer's lack of faith in the future of Whitehorse. One hundred and twenty three people voted against incorporation, against twenty three in favour.

By the summer of 1949, the squatter problem had become serious. At this time, the squatters were localized mainly on Whiskey Flats, and along the foot of the bluff west of the town. Both were undesirable areas for dwellings, the Flats because of the possibility of flooding, and the area at the foot of the bluff because of the danger of slides. The squatters were established on railway land and on Crown land.

In 1949, reasonably priced lots were advertised in the townsite. Few squatters were persuaded to move, and it was hoped that when the city was incorporated, it would deal with the squatters under its sanitation bylaws. Since 1950, squatting has spread into the Wye area south west of the town, and into "Sleepy Hollow" north of the town. None of the attempts to provide alternative sites for squatters, or to move them, had any success.

During and since 1952-53 there have been some attempts to evict squatters especially from Moccasin Flats, Whiskey Flats and the Wye area. In 1952-53 the British Yukon Navigation Company

evicted squatters from Moccasin Flats. In 1956, the Crown began eviction of squatters from Moccasin Flats. Two individuals resisted eviction. One, who told the writer he had spend approximately $5,000 on lawyer's fees, eventually moved his buildings. The other continued to delay eviction through a series of appeals and legal maneouvres. At the time of the survey he still had seven dwellings located on Crown land, and was completing a garage.

The attempts by the BYN to move squatters from their land also encountered difficulty. In the Wye area, in 1958, and on Whiskey Flats the squatters banded together, collected a fighting fund, hired a lawyer, and successfully opposed the Company, who dropped the action. At the time of the survey, many of the squatters expressed bitterness about the BYN activities, but showed no hostility towards the actions of the government. In the case of the government evictions, there was no support for the individuals who chose to oppose the order, and the fact that the land was needed for a specific purpose weighed heavily in favour of the government. As one squatter put it "I reckon the government is a pretty good Joe and won't do anything without offering us a square deal". This may be one way of expressing the considerable political importance of the squatter population.

Up to the present, conditions in the Yukon have favoured the development of squatting in Lower Whitehorse. In this area alone, during the course of the survey, 287 households containing no less than 864 individuals were recorded. The squatters in Whitehorse form a quarter to a third of the total population of the city and represent a significant proportion of the population of the whole of the Yukon.

The greatest factor working towards the solution, or at least the amelioration of the squatter problem has been the steady progress made by the City of Whitehorse. A real feeling of pride and responsibility is evident in Whitehorse, and the city now has facilities and services comparable with those of any modern settlement anywhere in Canada. If the Yukon is still an economic frontier, its capital is by no means a frontier town in the accepted sense of the word.

In 1953, Federal Government operations were moved from Dawson to Whitehorse. A new sewage and water system (taken over in 1957), a hydro electric scheme, a bridge across the Yukon (completed in 1957), the opening of the new hospital, the establishment of new subdivisions, the encouraging mining properties in the Yukon, the installation of sidewalks and the black topping of the city streets, the opening up of new subdivisions along the Alaska Highway and across the river - all these encouraged the notion of permanence among the inhabitants of Whitehorse.

At present, the city has a prosperous, orderly appearance. Several new churches have been completed recently, the new subdivision of Riverdale contains many fine houses, and most of the substandard buildings have been removed from the townsite.

Squatter Areas

For some years now, the squatter areas in Lower Whitehorse have been localized. With the development of the city, the clearing of Service buildings and installations from the townsite,* the progress made in servicing the city lots, and the enforcements of building standards by the municipal authorities, squatting has been eliminated within the townsite itself. At the time of the survey, only one squatter was living in the townsite.

Ten squatter areas were defined in Lower Whitehorse. All lay on the periphery of the townsite, and four areas lay outside the city boundaries. When the possibilities of establishing dwellings were reduced in the townsite, the squatters moved to the less desirable areas on its fringes. Such areas were less desirable because they were unserviced, subject to flooding in places, and threatened by slides in others. In addition, the threat of eviction still hung over any household establishing a dwelling there. On the other hand, the areas were attractive to any squatter because of the reasons already listed, the most significant of these being the low cost of living there.

The city has extended its boundaries to the west in recent years. The usual procedure has been to hold a plebescite among people living on the subdivided lots outside the city limits, and if they favoured incorporation, the area was taken into the city and services installed.

This slow growth is the only sort of expansion that the city can cope with at present. Were it not BYN and Crown land it might be possible to incorporate parts of the Wye area and some of the squatters living west of the present boundaries of the city in this manner. For the other squatter areas, the method of holding a plebescite, and then incorporating and servicing the lots would not be possible. Apart from the problems of servicing and housing standards, the fact that so many of the squatters live on the 100 foot waterfront reserve would prevent their incorporation into the city. Land on the 100 foot reserve could not be sold, only leased. Moreover, this 100 foot waterfront reserve is constantly subject to change from the physical processes of erosion and deposition.

* For convenience, this term refers to the City of Whitehorse, but excludes the squatter areas.

This problem is highlighted on South Whiskey Flats, where the Yukon River is actively cutting away its bank and endangering the foundations of some of the buildings at the river's edge.

To the west of the townsite, problems associated with sloughing from the escarpment have made the city hesitant about extending their boundaries in this direction and has also rendered the disposal of Crown lots difficult. The slide danger has become sufficiently great in this area to cause the BYN to move several fuel storage tanks located west of Sixth Avenue. Several studies have been made of the escarpment to determine the best way of control sloughing. The most recent of these was carried out by a member of the Northern Building Section of the Division of Building Research of National Research Council, who devoted five months to the problem in 1957. Work on stabilizing the escarpment will begin in 1961.

Several of the squatters interviewed in the Wye area, Sixth Avenue and west of Eighth Avenue expressed concern about sloughing from the escarpment face endangering their houses. Drainage down the face of the escarpment also makes these areas very wet and muddy.

If the escarpment is stabilized and the danger of sloughing eliminated, the area west and south west of Lot 19 may be suitable for a further limited extension of the town.

The ten squatter areas in Lower Whitehorse are:

1. Sleepy Hollow West of the BYN Tracks

2. Sleepy Hollow East of the BYN Tracks
   (The above areas are sometimes called Lower Moccasin Flats)

3. Moccasin Flats

4. Two Mile Hill

5. South Whiskey Flats
   (Also known as Lower Whiskey Flats)

6. North Whiskey Flats
   (Also known as Upper Whiskey Flats)

7. Wye Area
   (Also known as the Old Roundhouse Area)

8. Sixth Avenue

9. First Avenue

10. West of Eighth Avenue

1. Sleepy Hollow West of the BYN Tracks

This area lies immediately north of the northern boundary of the City of Whitehorse. It occupies Lot 9, and the western half of Lot 21; both lots belong to BYN. There are thirty buildings in this area, most of them strung out along the northern side of the road leading to the City Dog Pound. Beyond this road, to the north, the area is heavily wooded. Some buildings are located in these woods, in which lies an extensive slough.

2. Sleepy Hollow East of the BYN Tracks

This area is on Lots 21 and 10, all of which, except for the 100' Crown waterfront reserve, is owned by BYN. In all, there are sixty-one buildings in this area, thirty-three of which are on BYN land. There has been a marked increase in squatting in this part of Sleepy Hollow during the last two years. At the time of the survey, one house was being completed, and frames had been added for extensions to several other dwellings.

In the southern part of this area, and around each dwelling the trees have been cut down, but elsewhere it is quite heavily wooded. This part of Sleepy Hollow is flat and a slough has formed at the extreme north of the area, where it is bounded by the RCEME fence. Into this slough several old cars and trucks have been dumped. Old cars and debris have also been towed down to other parts of Sleepy Hollow.

3. Moccasin Flats

This area stretches from the stern wheelers on the river bank at the northern end of First Avenue to the northern boundary of the city. Where the railway approaches the river bank near the city limit, there is a gap in the buildings. In all there are 57 buildings on Moccasin Flats. Since the BYN have evicted most of the squatters from their land, all but eight of the 44 households here are on Crown land along the waterfront.

This area is a river flat, with few trees and little underbrush of any sort.

4. Two Mile Hill

A group of families have established themselves on Crown land in the woods on the left hand side of the Two Mile Hill road. There are ten buildings in this area, and a number of old cars and trucks. One squatter is located at the foot of Two Mile Hill; his dwelling straddles the city boundary.

5. South Whiskey Flats

Whiskey Flats is one of the oldest established squatting areas in Whitehorse. Before the bridge across the Yukon was opened for traffic in October 1956, this area was on the fringe of the city. With the movement of population into the Riverdale subdivision, and the erection of the new hospital, the position of Whiskey Flats is less peripheral. The south part of the Flats lies between the railway track, the bridge and the river, and covers between five and six acres. All of it is Crown land, except for a strip east of the railway line covering 1.37 acres, which is still owned by BYN. There are 68 buildings on South Whiskey Flats, only ten of which are on BYN land.

The whole area is a river flat except for the extreme southern part which is at the same level as the rest of the city. From this southern part a steep hill descends to the low lying part of the flats south of the bridge approach road embankment. The BYN portion of South Whiskey Flats is on a slightly higher piece of land which slopes down gently to the river.

Of all the squatter areas, this low lying part of South Whiskey Flats is the most depressing. In some places, the houses crowd together, in others, open spaces are strewn with old trucks, large pieces of machinery and debris. Except around certain houses, the trees and brush have been cleared. Substandard, unsanitary, overcrowded houses, cabins and shacks dot the squatter areas, but only on part of South Whiskey Flats does their concentration merit the application of the term "slum" to a specific area.

6. North Whiskey Flats

This area of the flats lies between the railway, the bridge road, and the river. All of it is a river flat, some twenty feet below the general level of the rest of the town, and liable to flooding in the spring. A few trees and some brush cover parts of North Whiskey Flats. This area is wholly owned by the Crown. As on the south part of the flats, an informal network of roads serves the area. On approximately five acres of land live fifty-three households; buildings total sixty-six.

7. Wye Area

At the south west end of town, where the river meets the bluff, a settlement of squatters has grown up. This area has the character of a separate village, as it is separated from the rest of the city by the open expanse of Lot 19. The majority of buildings here lie within a rough triangle formed by the escarpment, the railway and a line joining the two. Within this triangle, all of which is BYN land, lie 24 buildings; six other squatter buildings are located west of Sixth Avenue, and south of a projected extension of Lowe Street.

Well built, well kept houses dispersed among trees give the Wye Area a picturesque appearance.

8. Sixth Avenue

Strung out in a line west of the townsite and at the foot of the escarpment are a number of squatter dwellings. The area under the bluff presents another example of the sort of land that attracts squatters. Some of the houses sit on the hillside, others are on roads that are at present outside the city limits.

At the northern end of Sixth Avenue, west of Lot 19, where a tree clothed slide or spur from the escarpment blocks the road, a group of squatter buildings are set back from the road. Two squatter dwellings lie at the western end of Hawkins Street, and a line of buildings extend along Sixth Avenue between the ends of Hanson Street and Lambert Street.

These buildings are on a portion of the Airport Reserve, which is Crown land.

9. First Avenue

At the south end of First Avenue, a line of 10 squatter buildings extend west of the railway tracks. Some of the houses here date from 1904. The buildings are on the 100 foot Crown waterfront reserve which is leased as a right of way to the BYN. According to one squatter here, considerable confusion exists over the leasing of this portion of Crown land.

10. West of Eighth Avenue

The extension of the city's boundaries west of Eighth Avenue has already been discussed. West of the subdivided lots, a number of squatter buildings are strung out in a line on Crown land

under the escarpment face. One building has been erected at the western end of Wood, and three others at the head of Strickland Street. A road running parallel to Eighth Avenue connects the heads of Black Street and Cook Street, and nine squatters are established west of this. One of the few multiple dwelling buildings in the squatter areas is located here, at the head of Black Street. At the head of Ogilvie Street, four squatter dwellings have been built on ledges on the face of the bluff.

Only two squatter dwellings were located in areas other than those listed above. One was a cabin on a lot in town,[1] the other a trailer on the Crown waterfront reserve near the Yukon Laundry.

[1] This cabin was burnt down early in 1961.

PART II

BUILDINGS AND SERVICES

PART II BUILDINGS AND SERVICES

1. SQUATTER BUILDINGS

In all, there are 366 buildings in the squatter areas of which 310 can be classed as dwellings, the remaining being garages, stores, and commercial buildings, two are permanent value stations. The standards and conditions of buildings vary greatly, ranging from dilapidated shacks to well built, well kept houses. At one extreme is a cardboard shack, at the other a good house with running water, valued by the owner at $12,000. This variation in the type and condition of houses in the squatter areas is one of the most characteristic features of these sections of Whitehorse. In most of the townsite, houses, neatly spaced and set out on serviced lots, stand in striking contrast to the unplanned sprawl of houses, cabins and shacks in the squatter areas.

Picturesque though the effect may be in places, the haphazard unplanned growth of buildings has resulted in a great deal of available land being wasted. Standard group lots in Whitehorse measure 300' x 100', plus laneway allowances. Individual lots measure 50' x 100'; this is a suitable amount of land for a house and auxiliary buildings in a city such as Whitehorse. In the squatter areas, the concentration of dwellings varies considerably (Table I). In the most congested part of South Whiskey Flats, there are seven buildings, six of which are substandard cabins or shacks, on a piece of land measuring 100' x 100'. Elsewhere the building concentration is less. On the crown reserve on Moccasin Flats, 30 occupied dwellings, housing 79 individuals, are located on a strip of land measuring 100' wide by 1400' long. On the crown reserve at the south end of Sleepy Hollow, fifteen dwellings, most of them houses in good condition, occupy a strip of land 100' x 700'. In the Wye area, on a wedge-shaped piece of land covering approximately 175,000 square feet, 21 dwellings house 66 people.

Table I - Sample Building Density; Whitehorse Townsite and Squatter Areas

(a) Area	(b) Dimensions	(c) Area	(d) No. of Dwellings	(e) Density of Buildings (c/d)
1. Whitehorse Townsite	300' x 200'	60,000 sq. ft.	12	1:5,000 sq. ft.
2. Part of South Whiskey Flats	100' x 100'	10,000 sq. ft.	6	1:1,666 sq. ft.
3. Part of Crown reserve Moccasin Flats	100' x 1400'	140,000 sq. ft.	30	1:4,666 sq. ft.
4. South end of Sleepy Hollow	100' x 700'	70,000 sq. ft.	15	1:4,666 sq. ft.

(a) Area	(b) Dimensions	(c) Area	(d) No. of Dwellings	(e) Density of Buildings c/d
5. Wye Area (Excluding 6th Ave.)	500' s 700' x 800' (triangle	175,000 sq. ft.	21	1:8,666 sq. ft.
6. North Whiskey Flats	-	217,800 sq. ft.	56	1:3,889 sq. ft.

A casual glance at a squatter area such as North Whiskey Flats gives the impression of a considerable congestion of buildings. The area of these flats is approximately 5 acres (217,800 sq. ft.), on which are located 56 dwellings. This gives a theoretical distribution of one dwelling on every 3,900 square feet. Although this is less than the standard lot in town, it is not a totally inadequate amount of land on which to erect a dwelling. This building density, and those of Moccasin Flats and the Wye area, point up the most significant fact about the distribution of dwellings in the squatter areas - the great waste of land. Badly laid out roads winding between buildings, odd-shaped lots, an arrangement of buildings that does not make the most economical use of the available land - all these factors contribute to congestion and crowding in the squatter areas.

The congestion and crowding on these areas reflects the haphazard growth, the lack of planning, and the absence of control over building standards here.

(i) Commercial Buildings

Six commercial enterprises have been established in the squatter areas, and three of these form a commercial area on South Whiskey Flats. The commercial buildings here comprise an auto body shop, a sheet metal works, and a machine shop; an auto wrecking and building removal contractor has also established himself here, using vacant parts of the flats to store equipment, old machinery, broken down vehicles, etc. The owners of three of these enterprises live on the Flats; the owner of the machine shop occupies one room of the building in which his machinery is set up. A battery shop run on a part time basis by an Army employee occupies a cabin on First Avenue. An auto repair shop, and a carpenter's shop - both spare time activities - lie north of the City Dog Pound Road in Sleepy Hollow. An electrical contracting firm has a building on Lot 19.

The commercial buildings in the squatter areas could be moved without too much difficulty; two are parts of an Army "spider", one is a log building, one a small cabin, and the other a sound wooden building.

(ii) Garages and Stores

Of the 48 buildings listed as garages and stores, most are simple structures - small store sheds, one car garages, etc. The largest structure of this type is a warehouse on North Whiskey Flats.

(iii) Dwellings *

Table II summarizes the dwelling types in the squatter areas, with the exception of some trailers, virtually all dwellings other than "houses" and "multi-unit dwellings" can be considered as substandard. Such accommodation comprises 43.5% of all the dwellings in the squatter areas, and this emphasizes another characteristic of these areas - the large proportion of buildings unsuitable for human habitation. Substandard buildings are found in the townsite, but they form only a small percentage of the total dwellings there.

(iv) Value of Dwellings

A definite pattern can be seen in the distribution of dwelling types in the squatter areas. In the Wye area, and at the south end of Sleepy Hollow, are many good houses. Of the 27 dwellings in the Wye area, no less than 21 could be classified as houses, and of these 17 were in good condition. On South Whiskey Flats, on the other hand, out of 51 dwellings, 15 were classed as houses, but only 8 of these could be described as being in good condition. Cabins and shacks form the majority of dwellings in this area. The good houses on Whiskey and Moccasin Flats tend to be scattered among the cabins and shacks that abound in these areas.

The city's assessment of buildings for 1960-61 throws much light on the value of dwellings in the squatter areas.

* For the purposes of this report, the following definitions hold

Dwelling: Any building used for human occupancy.

House: Any reasonably structurally sound dwelling, with two or more rooms, used for human occupancy.

Cabin: A reasonably structurally sound dwelling, smaller than a house, usually with fewer than two rooms, used for human occupancy.

Shack: A substandard, poorly constructed, badly maintained dwelling, usually with only one room, used for human occupancy.

Substandard: When referring to dwellings this term denotes inadequate space for the number of occupants, the absence of suitable sanitary facilities, and of services, and a poor construction or condition of the fabric of the building.

TABLE II

Whitehorse Squatter Areas

Dwelling Types

Area	Total Dwellings	Houses	Log Cabins	Other Cabins	Shacks	Trailers	Quonsets etc.	Multi Unit Dwellings
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	22	11	1	5	3	2	0	0
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	56	36	2	7	6	3	1	1
Moccasin Flats	51	20	5	13	7	2	2	2
Two Mile Hill	6	4	0	1	1	0	0	0
South Whiskey Flats	51	15	1	24	8	1	2	0
North Whiskey Flats	56	22	3	15	9	2	4	1
Wye Area	27,	21	1	1	0	2	2	0
6th Avenue	13	9	0	4	0	0	0	0
1st Avenue	8	3	0	5	0	0	0	0
West of 8th Avenue	18	8	0	5	1	3	0	1
Elsewhere in Lower Whitehorse	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Total	310	149	13	81	35	16	11	5
%	100	48.1	4.2	26.1	11.3	5.2	3.2	1.6

The assessed value is approximately one third of the actual building costs of the house. On South Whiskey Flats, 8 houses were assessed at $1,000 or more; the highest assessed value here was $2,560. On North Whiskey Flats, 13 houses had an assessed value over $1,000, and here the maximum was $2,280. Only five houses on Moccasin Flats were assessed at over $1,000; the best house here, the only two storey building in the squatter areas, was assessed at $2,290. The high standard and good condition of houses in the Wye area show up in the assessments - 14 out of 22 buildings with assessments over $1,000. Six of these were assessed at over $1,500, and one house here, assessed with its garage at $3,640 was the second highest value house in the squatter areas.

At the other end of the scale, some shacks in the squatter areas were assessed at $250 or less; in most cases this assessment seemed to be on the generous side. On South Whiskey Flats nine dwellings were assessed at $250 or less, the lowest assessment being $110 for a single man's small cabin. One shack, housing an Indian of white status and his five children, was assessed at $150. On North Whiskey Flats, seven dwellings had assessed values under $250; most of these were cabins housing single men. One vacant shack was assessed at $70, and another, occupied by a single man, at $90. On Moccasin Flats, four dwellings were assessed at less than $250; one shack here was assessed at $50.

(v) Condition of houses

The shabby exteriors of so many of the houses in the squatter areas emphasize the basic insecurity of the occupants about permanent settlement in the area. They have no title to the land on which their houses stand, and little desire to spend any more time and money than is absolutely necessary to make their homes comfortable, warm and weatherproof. At any time, they feel they might be evicted, and their houses torn down. With talk of relocation in the air, some asked the writer "Why throw good money after bad?". This sentiment and attitude was encountered many times by the writer. The responsible squatters were obviously worried about the future of the houses, which represented a large part of their invested capital. A striking example of the desire to improve being thwarted by uncertainty was seen in the case of a man in the Wye Area. This squatter dug a basement in the summer of 1960, intending to move the house over it. When talk of relocation began, he filled the hole in.

Many squatters said they would spend more money on fixing up the exteriors of their houses if they were on suitable lots. In view of the prevailing feeling of insecurity - both about their tenure on the land, and the future of Whitehorse - many squatters had made commendable efforts to improve their homes. A bank manager said that a number of squatters had received home improvement loans from his bank. In November, 1960, some squatters were engaged in remodelling the interior of their houses, although the publicity given to their proposed relocation had resulted in an almost complete cessation of improvements to interiors and exteriors.

(vi) The Expanding Squatter Home

The way in which some married squatters have established homes indicates the plight of newcomers to the city. At first a small cabin is built or bought, and this forms the nucleus of a permanent house. As children arrive, extra rooms are built on, and so the house grows. This process could be seen taking place in the squatter areas during the writer's visit. It represented the best method of obtaining a suitable home without a great outlay of cash at any one time. It would seem, from observations in Whitehorse, that some sort of low-cost, pre-fabricated shell would be useful in solving the housing problem in this, and in other northern areas. Such a shell would provide the core of a house which could be fitted out and extended as the need arose.

Such a need in the Whitehorse area is currently being met by portions of Army "spiders" - wooden buildings that originally formed part of service barracks complexes. Such buildings are common in the townsite, in the squatter areas, and in the new subdivisions along the Alaska Highway where they can be seen in varying states of improvement. Although such buildings leave much to be desired as homes in their original state, they do represent a large cheap unit that can be adapted, and made into a suitable house. It is significant that so many of these buildings have been towed out to the new subdivisions along the highway, and that so many are found in the squatter areas. In Sleepy Hollow, at least ten of these buildings serve as houses.

(vii) Insulation of Squatter Homes

The economic situation of the squatters was shown by the care and attention paid to insulating their homes. Some of the houses visited had low ceilings to trap heat, weather stripping and double windows to prevent draughts, and cardboard and wax paper fitted on ceilings and walls to act as moisture and heat barriers. Practically every dwelling in the squatter areas had a porch - an essential feature of northern housing totally absent on some of the new N.H.A. financed houses. This care in conserving and preventing the escape of heat made some houses much warmer and draft-free than one of the newly constructed dwellings examined by the writer in Riverdale.

Adaption to climatic conditions and a desire to cut expenditure on heating costs were features of many of the dwellings in the squatter areas. This often resulted, in some of the houses in poor condition, and in practically all the cabins and shacks, in inadequate provision for lighting and ventilation. The savings in fuel costs were illustrated by one man who claimed that by using a wood burning range, an oil stove, and adequate insulation, he was able to keep his fuel oil bill down to $50 - $60 during the winter.

(viii) Houses in the Squatter Areas

One of the most surprising features of the squatter areas was the small number of multi-unit dwellings. Five were noted, only one of which had more than two living units. One building, located west of Eight Avenue, appeared to be a part of a "spider". It had been divided into four living units, and was in excellent condition.

One or two of the houses in the squatter areas were built of logs, as were some in the townsite, but most of the dwellings classed as houses were of frame construction, with exteriors of wooden shingles, asbestos panels, or wooden board sidings. Sometimes an exterior cover of tarpaper either patterned (imitation brick) or black, was nailed to the exterior for insulation and protection.

(ix) Quonsets

Quonsets made up 3.2% of all the dwellings on the squatter areas. Unlike the "spider" portions, quonsets huts do not lend themselves easily to adaption as living quarters. They provide adequate space (if insufficient light) for one or two adults, but, without extensions, cannot be considered as suitable accommodation for families. In Sleepy Hollow, a large quonset, only half of which was occupied, housed a married couple and their six children. The man was unemployed, and the family had only recently moved to Whitehorse. For such families, alternative housing in Whitehorse is completely lacking.

(x) Cabins

Tables III and IV indicate some significant features of the occupancy of cabins in the five largest squatter areas.

TABLE III. OCCUPANCY OF CABINS IN FIVE SQUATTER AREAS

Area	No. of occupied cabins, including log cabins	Single men		Families in Cabins
		In cabins	In houses	
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	5	2	1	3
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	7	2	5	5
Moccasin Flats	11	6	7	5
Whiskey Flats S.	20	12	1	8

Area	No. of occupied cabins, including log cabins	Single men In cabins	Single men In houses	Families in Cabins
Whiskey Flats N.	16	15	4	1
Total	59	37	18	22

TABLE IV. OCCUPANCY OF CABINS BY PEOPLE OF INDIAN ANCESTRY IN FIVE SQUATTER AREAS.

Area	Families, in which at least one person is of Indian ancestry, living in cabins	Total number of households in which at least one person is of Indian ancestry.
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	2	9
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	4	4
Moccasin Flats	2	5
Whiskey Flats S.	5	8
Whiskey Flats N.	0	4
Total	13	30

Cabins are distinguished from shacks by their superior condition, and from houses by their smaller size. Two significant features emerge from these tables. One is the number of single men, usually living alone, who occupy cabins on Whiskey Flats, and the high proportion of households containing people of Indian ancestry (Indians of white or Indian status, or men with Indian wives), living in cabins. Of such people, those who do not live in cabins inevitably occupy other substandard dwellings - usually shacks.

The cabins occupied by single men vary in size, but usually measure approximately 15' - 20' long by 10' wide; few had a floor space of more than 200 square feet. They usually contain a wood-burning stove, and a few pieces of furniture - none of them in good repair. The conditions and appearance of the interiors varied with the individuals. Of those visited by the writer, a large number were characterized by neatness and an attempt at cleanliness. In an area such as the Yukon, cabins serve the same purpose as bachelor apartments or single rooms in large cities. They

can be rented cheaply, or bought for a small sum, and are adequate for the needs of a single man. One cabin on First Avenue, with a floor space of 120 square feet, cost the owner only $100. A slightly larger cabin on North Whiskey Flats had been bought for the same sum by its occupant, an unemployed man.

As will be noted later, one of the greatest problems in Whitehorse is the number of single men who are either permanently or seasonally unemployed. Such men represent a large proportion of the 90 households consisting of single men living alone. For such men, one of the few ways of existing in Whitehorse is to rent - or buy - a cabin in the squatter areas, since the cost of renting accommodation in town is so high. One man interviewed said that he lived in town when he was working, but moved down to Whiskey Flats when he was unemployed. Although not entirely satisfactory, and lacking proper sanitary facilities, cabins do provide adequate accommodation for single men. Minimum room area for sleeping purposes in Ottawa, Windsor, Halifax and Toronto has been defined by the law as one person per 50 square feet, and most cabins occupied by single men meet this standard. For families, such dwellings are entirely inadequate. On South Whiskey Flats, no less than 8 families were living in cabins in November 1960.

(xi) Shacks

This sort of situation and that encountered in the shacks on the squatter areas represented the most undesirable aspect of the squatter problem. To see a family living in a tiny shack, without adequate sanitary facilities, light, or heat was to understand what living on the margins of existence really meant in an area such as the Yukon. Classified as "shacks" were 35 dwellings in the squatter areas, 11.3% of the total. Twenty-four of these were located on the old established squatter areas of Whiskey and Moccasin Flats. Most were occupied by single men living alone; in South Whiskey Flats, three or four families were living in dwellings that could only be described as squalid shacks.

(xii) Location of Buildings: BYN and Crown Land

With the deeding of all of Whiskey Flats, except for a narrow strip, to the Federal Government, approximately two-thirds of the buildings and households are now located on Crown land. Despite several drives by the BYN to get the squatters to pay rent for the land they are occupying, in order to pay part of the taxes that the city is collecting from the company for the buildings on their land, few squatters interviewed were actually paying any rent. In 1958, when the BYN tried to get people to sign leases for the land they were occupying in the Wye area, only one man signed. The story

is much the same in the other areas. One man on First Avenue had been paying the BYN $10 a month for some years; another on Moccasin Flats had paid $5 a month to the company between 1954 and 1957. The avoidance of rental payment by the squatters appeared to be as much due to their suspicions of the railway company as to their dislike of parting with money. Some said that they were afraid that the railway would have a hold on them if they signed leases. This attitude, and the belief that registering for a lease on Crown land gave the occupier legal title to the land, showed that the squatters were willing to interpret any legal matters concerning the occupancy of land in a way that would benefit them.

There was a certain feeling of envy of squatters on Crown land, as they had not been harried and threatened with eviction. Most squatters interviewed on or near the 100 foot Crown waterfront reserve had a very exact idea of where its limit lay. The city had attempted to collect taxes from squatters on Crown land, with only partial success. In November, 1960, some squatters were three to four years behind in their taxes. Some squatters were unable to pay taxes, others had no desire to. Some of these, when interviewed, expressed bitterness against the civic authorities because they had done nothing for the squatter areas in the way of road improvement.

Despite the fact that the squatters are located on land belonging to the Crown and to a private company, a railway official noted that, on occasions there had been fierce fights over property rights among dwellers on the flats. On at least one occasion there has been a staking rush in the squatter areas when the rumour became current that it was possible to do this.

(xiii) Home Ownership*

One significant feature of the squatter areas is the high proportion of home owners located there. No less than 197 (69.3% of the total) owned the dwellings they occupied. This seems to indicate a considerable degree of permanence among the squatters, even though some of the dwellings were not of a high standard. In some areas, notably the Wye area, and Sleepy Hollow, there was a large proportion of home owners among the squatters. All squatters west of the tracks in Sleepy Hollow owned their own homes, as did 19 out of 27 householders in the Wye area. This latter is very significant, if taken in conjunction with the figures for assessed house values in this area. Of the 100 squatter households on Whiskey

* This is not home ownership in the legal sense, for legally all houses, improvements, etc. belong to the legitimate owner of the land on which they stand.

Flats, a little over half (59) own their own dwellings. This indicates three significant facts about squatting in this area - the low income of the squatters here, their transient nature, and the implication that newcomers to the city are more likely to rent dwellings in such an area. Moccasin Flats, with thirty home owners out of 44 households, indicates a more settled population. As already noted, about 10% of all dwellings were vacant at the time of the survey, and of these, most were unoccupied due to the population drop that the flats - and Whitehorse and the Yukon in general - experienced during the winter. Most of these dwellings are rented during the summer. It is significant that 34 of the 38 vacant dwellings are on Whiskey Flats, Moccasin Flats and in Sleepy Hollow east of the tracks. The old established areas, and the most recent one, are the places for which transients or newcomers to the city head when they seek cheap rental accommodation.

(xiv) Rental Costs

The dilemma of newcomers to the Yukon was emphasized by several families interviewed in the squatter areas. One woman, whose husband was employed in a civilian capacity by the RCAF, said that they were just unable to pay the rents demanded in town. Another woman, with four children, then living on Whiskey Flats, had been paying $75 a month (without services) for a one bed-room apartment in the city; the family paid $50 for their small house on the flats. The husband worked for the Army, the wife worked when she could, and the house was clean and tidy inside. One man, a new Canadian, had to pay $135 a month out of a total salary of $300, for accommodation for his family. That was in 1958, and after a few months he decided to buy a house in Sleepy Hollow. He estimated, when interviewed, that he had saved the cost of the house in less than two years. One example was cited of a squatter who had been a radio technician at a department store in the city. When the dwelling he owned became too small for his increasing family, he could not rent cheap accommodation and so was forced to take another job elsewhere in the Yukon.

Rentals appeared to be on a casual basis, although information on this was difficult to get. Compared to rental costs in town, those in the squatter areas were low. About $50 for a small house or large cabin would appear to be a suitable figure, with services extra. On Moccasin Flats, a house was divided into two dwellings, one of which rented for $35 a month, and the other for $45. The smaller unit was occupied by an old age pensioner, the other by a father and his son, both of whom were working. A series of small cabins on Moccasin Flats, well kept and well built, with a floor space of about 300 square feet each, rented for $60 a month. Such cabins would be just about adequate as transient accommodation for individuals or small families; at the time of the survey all were unoccupied. In town, rentals are high, and rental accommodation scarce. One-half of a "spider" portion rents for $70 a month (unfurnished and without services). A small apartment rents for $75-100 a month and suitable family accommodation under $100 is difficult to come by; a five room house in town rents for $200. Board and lodging for a single man were advertised in the Whitehorse Star (January 5, 1961) for $100 a month.

The most striking feature of the housing situation in Whitehorse is the marked absence of anything that can be termed low rental accommodation. This lies at the very basis of the squatter problem in Whitehorse. The absence of suitable alternative accommodation, especially rental accommodation, was the main reason why many of the townspeople with whom the writer spoke showed sympathy towards the squatters. If eviction action is taken against the squatters, they asked, where will they go? At the time of the survey, that question had to remain unanswered.

There appear to be few fixed terms for rental accommodation in the squatter areas. Some tenants did not know the full name of their landlord. This casual basis of renting encourages a mobility of population, and will aid any relocation plans.

(xv) Location and Ownership of Rental Accommodation

Of the 87 buildings not owned by occupiers, most belonged to other individuals living on the flats, some of whom derived most or part of their income from rent money. There were some cases of absentee ownership; the owner of two dwellings on South Whiskey Flats lived in Vancouver. Most landlords, however, lived in Whitehorse, usually in the same area as their buildings. There was one case noted of a family who owned a house in the townsite, rented it, and lived in Sleepy Hollow. The largest number of buildings, ten in all , were owned by two partners. Eight of the buildings were dwellings, and seven of them were located on North Whiskey Flats. Another individual owned eight buildings on Moccasin Flats; seven of these were dwellings. Another man owned seven buildings - six on Whiskey Flats and one in Sleepy Hollow. About a dozen individuals owned two or three dwellings, and others owned single buildings. In the latter category were former residents of the squatter areas who had moved into town or left the Yukon and squatters who rented houses or cabins near their homes as an additional source of income.

Because of this landlord class, some arrangements will have to be made for moving rented buildings elsewhere. Significantly, the person who resisted eviction attempts over almost five years was a man owning seven cabins on Moccasin Flats. From six of these cabins he derived an income of $360 a month. Another individual, amiable when interviewed, later threatened in a radio broadcast to fight "to the death" when asked how he would react to any eviction attempts. Most of this man's income was derived from his three rented buildings. Unless some scheme is devised to take care of rented buildings in the squatter areas, their owners are liable to oppose any attempt at relocation and to resist eviction. Since they have the means to do so, because of their steady income from rents, they could prove a difficult obstacle. Several of the landlords have considerable standing among the squatters and their

co-operation will be vital to the success of any proposed scheme of relocation. It would seem that the best way to deal with this problem is to tow the buildings out to a suitable subdivision on the highway, where land could be leased from the Crown. Setting up an unserviced subdivision, without rigid control over building standards, would go a long way to solving the squatter problem. It would accommodate one group of squatters discussed later, and also provide a suitable site for dwelling being rented at present. The setting up of such a subdivision would formally recognize the economic facts of life in the Yukon.

2. SERVICES

(i) Sewer and Water

In 1957, the City of Whitehorse took over a complete sewer and water system. Many of the people interviewed in the city said that this represented the greatest step forward in the recent history of the town. Before the installation of services, the squatter areas along the river, with easy access to water and the natural garbage and sewage disposal system of the Yukon River, were more favoured than other parts of the city.

None of the squatter areas have piped water or sewer services. The owners of some houses had installed wells, and had running water and flush toilets, using septic tanks and leaching pits to dispose of some of the effluent and waste water. But the majority of squatters had inadequate sanitary facilities in their homes.

The squatter areas lack the basic necessity of a healthy community - a clean water supply. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. It is the absence of an adequate water and sewage system in the squatter areas that so sharply distinguishes them from the rest of the city. Even those houses equipped with wells cannot be considered to have a pure water supply, since the danger of pollution from sewage leaching still exists.

Those buildings that did not have running water usually relied on two sources - the city delivery or the river. The city delivers water to the squatters, and to the new subdivisions along the Alaska Highway, at a cost of $1.00 for 50 gallons. Most houses have a storage tank for water, but water taken into a house must also be taken out and disposed of. In such areas as Whiskey Flats, the water is just poured away on the ground - a further source of contamination and pollution.

At the current price of delivered water in Whitehorse, it is quite obvious that such water will only be used for drinking purposes. Water for washing is usually drawn from the river, although some drinking water also comes from the Yukon. The Yukon here flows swift and deep over a good gravel bed. But the possibility of polluted water being drawn from this source is great - especially during winter and spring when sewage and garbage are dumped on the ice, and water drawn from holes cut through the ice. The writer did not see the frozen Yukon in winter, when its surface is strewn with garbage and the contents of privies, but such a site would merely confirm the conclusion already reached - that the squatter area represents a very real public health hazard.

Chemical toilets are used in many houses in the squatter areas. Like the question of water supply, it was sometimes difficult to ascertain the toilet facilities in the squatter homes. No outdoor privies were noted along the river bank on Whiskey Flats, but a number lined the river along Moccasin Flats. Here, fortunately, the general practice was to use the river water for washing and to buy drinking water from the city.

Before 1957, a squatter moving into town merely shifted from one unserviced area to another. Now that the possibility of moving to a serviced lot in town exists, many of the more responsible squatters expressed a desire for such a lot. They all feel acutely the necessity to conserve water and the other disadvantages of living in an unserviced area. Certainly the prospect of moving to an area with running water appealed most of all to squatters with families. For single men, living alone in cabins, the problem of water and sewage was less acute.

One reliable source in the city stated that only about 5%-10% of the population were interested in the squatter problem. The citizens with whom the writer spoke showed either great sympathy for the squatters or considerable antipathy towards them. The basis of the antipathy seemed to be the feeling that the squatters were not accepting their full civic responsibilities. In 1956 and 1958, business leaders in the community prepared a brief showing how much the squatters were paying in taxes, compared to the contribution by residents in the townsite. This brief aroused some interest among the citizens of Whitehorse, because it showed how little the squatters were contributing to the cost of running the city. The responsible squatters interviewed said that they had no objections to paying taxes (this statement was repeated so frequently that it appeared as a defensive one) if they were on a serviced lot. In their present location they objected to paying taxes since they considered that the city neglected them, except for providing fire protection and water.

Since a number of people who could pay sewer and water charges choose to live on unserviced land, the result is a loss in income for the city. Another loss, less measurable in money terms, but certainly very real, is the liability to the whole of Whitehorse that the squatter areas represent from a public health point of view. The exact cost of this can never be known, but it is obvious that these areas, with inadequate water and sewer facilities, must represent a health hazard, and be detrimental to the welfare of Whitehorse.

The danger of an epidemic is ever present. Should a carrier of any communicable disease ever settle in or pass through an area such as Whiskey Flats, the sanitation conditions there favour the rapid spread of disease. Any outbreak of disease would not be restricted to the squatter areas, but would most certainly spread throughout the city.

Few of the squatters interviewed seemed to have a real appreciation of this problem. In any scheme of relocation, this aspect of the squatter problem should be stressed. Not only do proper water and sewer facilities appeal to many of the squatters, but the health hazard, especially to the children of Whitehorse, if stressed, would play a large part in persuading both the squatters and the other citizens of Whitehorse to co-operate in working towards a solution of this problem.

(ii) Electrical Power

The manager of the local electrical power company estimated that 75% of the squatter homes had electricity. His estimate was confirmed by visits to the squatter's homes - very few were noted without electricity. The squatters try to conserve electricity, and in the cabins and shacks its use is usually restricted to lighting a solitary bulb. In the houses, however, extensive use is made of electricity for lighting, appliances, and even for cooking. Deep freezes were noted in several homes, but the possession of such an appliance is fairly common in Whitehorse. A deep freeze enables a family to buy meat in bulk and to store any game, fish or birds they might acquire. The purchase of appliances by some squatters was, in a way, another reflection of their insecurity. Such an expenditure represented an investment in movable items, or in items that could be readily disposed of. The manager of the local electrical power company reported that there was no notable delinquency in the payment of electricity bills by the squatters.

Recently an attempt has been made to check the growth of squatting by refusing to supply electrical power to anyone moving into the squatter areas. The writer was approached on several

occasions by squatters who asked if he could arrange for their homes to be connected to the electrical power supply. One instance was encountered where a man had cleared trees in Sleepy Hollow, built a house, found that he could not get electrical power connected, and sold the house for a small sum. Several problems have arisen in connection with this withholding of electrical power from new squatters. One is the increase in the fire hazard caused by the use of lanterns or candles instead of electrical light, and also by squatters running leads over to a neighbouring house and drawing their power from it. The curtailment of the number of consumers means that the local electrical supply company cannot operate as efficiently as it might if it could connect up all prospective consumers; no plans can be made to relocate power lines until the squatter problem is solved. The privileged position of squatters on Crown land was illustrated by a squatter who recently moved on to the 100 foot Crown reserve. At first, he thought he was on BYN land, and when he asked for electrical power, his application was refused. Then he discovered that he resided on the Crown waterfront reserve, reported this fact, and had his home connected to the electrical supply.

(iii) Telephones and the Fire Hazard

Much of what has been said about the electrical power supply to the squatter areas also applies to the telephone system there. No new phones are being installed in the squatter areas, despite some 20 applications in recent months. This in itself represents a minimum loss of $1,560 a year to the telephone company in terms of subscribers who want phone service and are prepared to pay $6.50 a month for it. Phone lines run into the Wye area, Whiskey and Moccasin Flats and 25 squatters are subscribers in these areas. However, in the whole of Sleepy Hollow, there were, at the time of the survey, only two phones listed. This area is well wooded. If a fire started here, it would be difficult to notify the Fire Department, and the chances of such a fire spreading are considerable. This may seem a remote possibility, but the chances of such a fire devastating a whole squatter area are considerable.

Table V shows the number and type of fires in Whiskey Flats during 1959, and the first ten months of 1960.

TABLE V FIRES OCCURRING IN WHISKEY FLATS

1960

Oct. 24/60	Residence	Candle	150.00
Oct. 14/60	"	Propane Gas	Nil
Oct. 13/60	"	Smoke Scare	Nil
Sept. 1/60	"	Electric wiring	3000.00

1959

Sept. 30/59	Residence	Children & matches	385.00
Sept. 23	"	Flooded oil stove	Nil
Sept. 15	"	Incendiarism	25.00
Sept. 3	"	"	5.00
July 11	"	Brush Fire	Nil
June 27	"	Unknown	25.00
May 3	"	Electric Iron ignited table	150.00
Apr. 9	"	Chimney sparks	10.00
Apr. 7	"	Flooded oil stove	Nil
Jan. 4	"	Using blow torch for thawing	Nil

Incidence of fires is not overwhelmingly great - only one major fire has occurred in this area in the period noted - but the origin of the fires show that such things as using candles for illumination, defective electrical wiring, brush fires and chimney sparks are an ever present threat to the buildings in such squatter areas as Whiskey Flats. The location of the squatter areas in relation to the townsite may permit any outbreak of fire to be easily contained, and not spread to the rest of Whitehorse. The point remains, however, that the city is providing free fire service to areas that present fire hazards greater than those encountered elsewhere in the townsite.

(iv) Heating

The question of fire hazard also arises in an examination of the methods used by the squatters to heat their houses. Many of the better houses have oil fired furnaces, and some rely on oil stoves. The attempts by the squatters to save money on heating costs is reflected in the number of houses, cabins and shacks in which a wood-burning range or stove serves for heating and cooking purposes. In December, 1960, the interior of a house on Moccasin Flats was burnt out, the cause of the fire being traced to a defective chimney. In this house, a wood burning stove was the one source of heat, and was also used for cooking.

(v) Garbage Disposal

The city's garbage collection service extends to the squatter areas. For this pick-up service the city charges $2 a month. Some of the squatters take advantage of the service, while others dump their garbage into the underbrush, into the Yukon, or on to the river ice in winter. The dangers of disposing of garbage in this manner are obvious.

PART III

THE PEOPLE

PART III

The People

(i) Attitude of the Squatters towards the Investigator

One of the most surprising results of the survey was the reception accorded to the writer by the squatters. In the course of 274 individual interviews, the writer encountered suspicion, fear, scepticism, cynicism, and indifference - but no hostility. The majority of squatters were friendly, open and co-operative, and appeared to be well disposed towards the Federal and Territorial Governments. Several expressed their appreciation of the Federal Government's interest in them; one said that all the squatters in the area in which she lived had ever wanted was to discuss the problem "like ladies and gentlemen". However, many showed hostility and bitterness towards the BYN.

This ready desire of the squatters to co-operate is one of the strongest factors working towards a realistic solution of the squatter problem. Some expressed their willingness to rearrange their own houses within the squatter areas in order that lots, services and proper roads be installed.

In any planned relocation, the active co-operation of the squatters should be sought. A group of representative squatters, or an informal committee, would bridge the present large gap between the official levels of government and the squatters themselves. Such a group, with an intimate knowledge of the needs of individual households, could aid immensely in relocation. By getting the squatters themselves involved in relocation, the whole task of urban renewal would be facilitated, and the community spirit that exists among the squatters bent to constructive ends. If the squatters feel that they are being coerced, or forced into anything, if they feel that they are being directed and not consulted, if they feel that they are being treated as a mass instead of as a group of individuals with individual problems, they will almost certainly oppose rather than aid any relocation plans. When the squatters on the Wye area and on Whiskey Flats were threatened with eviction, they formed a committee, collecting money from everyone, and hired a lawyer. On Whiskey Flats, only one man did not contribute to the fund.

This community spirit among the squatters is a two-edged sword. It could greatly aid relocation, or, if the squatters chose to close ranks, it could delay and perhaps finally thwart any planned relocation. The writer cannot too strongly urge, on the basis of his personal experience of the squatters, that the squatters themselves be involved as deeply as possible in the plans for relocation.

(ii) Numbers

Until the survey, no reliable estimate of the total number of squatters was available. In the course of the survey, 287 households were numbered, comprising, in all, 864 individuals, an average of 3 persons per household. Of an estimated 2500-3000 civilians living in Lower Whitehorse[1], no less than one third to one quarter live on BYN or Crown land. In addition, it must be remembered that the survey was carried out in late fall, at a time when the transient summer population had left Whitehorse.

The greatest concentration of squatters is on Whiskey Flats. Here live 100 households, comprising 305 individuals. In Sleepy Hollow, live 69 households containing 249 individuals. On Moccasin Flats 109 individuals make up 44 households - a ratio of 2½ individuals to each household. This reflects the larger number of single men living alone here - 18 out of 44 households, compared to 15 out of 69 in all of Sleepy Hollow. A similar situation was noted in North Whiskey Flats, where 22 households out of 53 consisted of single men living alone. The other major concentration of squatters, in the Wye area, had 88 individuals in 27 households, maintaining the three to one ratio.

Sleepy Hollow, Moccasin and Whiskey Flats and the Wye area contain 240 households and 751 individuals in all. The only other area in which more than 50 individuals live is that west of 8th Avenue. Here 52 individuals comprise 20 households.

The breakdown of the households show some interesting features. Of the 287 units, 106 consisted of married couples with children, and no less than 90 of single men living alone. Only 7 households consisted of single women living alone. Of the remaining 84 households, 49 consisted of married couples with no children, and the remainder was made up of two men living together, single men and women with children and groups of related individuals. Only one household consisted of two single women living together, and there were two examples of unrelated groups living together.

Under "married couples" are grouped some common law relationships. Most of these are contracted between white men and Indian women, and have a surprising degree of permanence. Some temporary liaisons between white men and Indian women were also noted.

(iii) Single Men

The breakdown of the number of people in each household shows a very significant feature of the squatter population - the large number of single men. They make up 31.7% of the households, and in all 128 men,

1. In 1956, the population of Whitehorse was 2,570.
("Census of Canada" Population. D.B.S.)

either living singly or together, were counted during the survey. This number included some old age pensioners, and unemployed single men. On Whiskey Flats there was a notable concentration of unemployed single men- 21 individuals out of 305, in 19 households. An unemployed man seeks out the cheapest place to live during the winter, and this, of course, is in the squatter areas. Some single men pay no rent for their cabins during the winter, making the rent up during the summer. In the course of the survey some men were encountered who had been unable to get work during the summer of 1960, and so had become ineligible for unemployment benefits; these men owed a year's rent. Their landlord, when interviewed, expressed concern about the fate of his tenants - more for humanitarian than for financial reasons, it seemed.

In the development of a territory like the Yukon, a large pool of unskilled and semiskilled men is essential for road construction, building, etc. At the time of survey, a number of men had recently been laid off. At the end of November, 1960, there were 428 unemployed males in the Yukon, and 119 unemployed females; the figures for the end of October were 297 males and 107 females. ✱ The end of the construction season brings a considerable increase in unemployment. That the winter unemployment situation is a fairly permanent one is shown by the figure for the end of November 1959 - 421 males and 118 females out of work. These cover only those who have U.I.C. benefits coming to them or who generally search for work through U.I.C. There are probably another 50% unemployed or unemployable.

The single men interviewed during the survey represent a permanent element in the squatter population. Those with jobs either rented houses or cabins, or owned their own dwellings. Some unemployed single men owned their own dwellings, but the majority rented low-cost accommodation. During March and April, many men come up the highway looking for work. A check on their numbers was obtained from the custodian of the Mary House, a Catholic hostel. This hostel has the only transient quarters for single men in Whitehorse. The hostel can accommodate 14 single men in beds, and is usually overcrowded during the spring and summer. The hostel also provides meals, but limits the stay of any one individual to two days. The custodian noted that they had fed as many as 10 to 15 men in one day, and that about 30 men a month use the hostel during the spring and summer. A railway official said that men had been discovered sleeping in the BYN docks, and even among the straw of their ice house. Of the vacant dwellings noted in November 1960, it was significant that 34 out of the total of 38 were on Moccasin and Whiskey Flats, and in Sleepy Hollow east of the tracks; such areas will house many seasonal workers in the summer.

✱ "Whitehorse Star" December 8, 1960, figures given by Unemployment Commission Manager. These figures do not include individuals ineligible for unemployment insurance benefits.

The problem of accommodating single men, employed and unemployed, in Whitehorse, will remain for some years. In the pioneer stages of the Yukon's development, heavy dependence will be placed upon single men, many of whom will be unemployed in winter, when construction work stops. While some of these men may be seasonal workers, who will return "outside" in the fall, many will remain in Whitehorse for the winter.

For single men employed in the summer, but idle in the winter, the most suitable form of accommodation might be a hostel such as those run by the YMCA or the Salvation Army. Neither the Federal nor the Territorial Governments can be expected to take direct responsibility for housing single men, some of whom are seasonal workers. The establishment of a transient area will help to alleviate this problem, especially if owners of dwellings presently being rented in the squatter areas move them there.

(iv) Families

Because of the large number of single men, adults in the squatter areas outnumber the children. There are 491 adults and 373 children in the squatter areas; 183 of the children are below school age. Married couples with children number 106, giving an average of 3.5 children per family. Most families had one to three children, and there were only three couples with more than seven children (Table VI). The largest family noted during the survey comprised a married couple and their nine children.

The squatter children do not stand out as a special group in school, according to the teachers interviewed. They are not noticeably delinquent, although some of the older students had given cause for concern because of truancy; one girl of Indian ancestry had only attended school for twenty days during the last school year. Isolated examples are noted of children from the squatter areas coming to school dirty, poorly dressed and with inadequate lunches.

It was quite obvious that many of the children on Whiskey Flats and in other squatter areas were being as well looked after as any in the townsite; the atmosphere in many houses bespoke a happy home life. The community spirit so evident in some the squatter areas had been directed to the erection of slides and the construction of small skating rinks for the children. The children of the responsible squatters are not suffering any deprivation, but it is quite obvious that the squatter areas are highly unsuited to the raising of children. It is not so much that these areas are "dens of vice". They are not. The absence of proper services makes them possible epidemic sources, and renders them noisome and noxious.

However, with so many low income people living in the squatter areas, the poverty of many of the households was reflected in the appearance of their children. Inadequate clothing and dirty bodies were mute evidence of the inability of some families to make ends meet. This was especially

TABLE VI. SIZE OF FAMILIES IN SQUATTER AREAS

Area	Married Couples with 1-3 children	Married Couples with 4-7 children	Married Couples with more than 7 children	Total	Married Couple without children
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	4	5	2	11	1
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	11	8	0	19	14
Moccasin Flats	10	2	0	12	5
Two Mile Hill	0	3	0	3	0
Whiskey Flats South	13	10	0	23	4
Whiskey Flats North	10	6	1	17	7
Wye Area	8	3	0	11	9
6th Avenue	3	0	0	3	0
1st Avenue	1	0	0	1	1
8th Avenue	4	2	0	6	6
Elsewhere	0	0	0	0	1
Total	64	39	3	106	49
%	60.4	36.8	2.8	-	-
% of total Households	-	-	-	39.0	17.1

marked among children of Indian ancestry. Several child welfare cases, involving cruelty and delinquency, were brought to the writer's attention.

Generally speaking, the family circumstances of the most of the squatter children are good, but the environment in which the children are being brought up could be markedly improved. In any dealings with the squatters, taking into account the fact that more than a third of the households involved comprise married couples with children, an appeal to

consider the future of their children would no doubt aid relocation - especially if the health hazard is stressed.

(v) Squatter Children - Education costs

Most of the cost of educating the children in the squatter areas is currently being borne by the Territorial government. The Whitehorse 1960 mill rate is 32.466 mills, 10 of which go for schools; this rate applies 100% on the land, and 50% on the improvements. None of the squatters own the land on which their buildings stand, and few have houses assessed at more than $1,000. Even for houses assessed at $1,000, the mill rate would yield only $16; one man on Moccasin Flats paid $43 in taxes to the city for three dwellings. It was difficult to discover which squatters paid the city taxes, and which did not. What is certain is that the BYN, for some years, has been paying taxes to the city on behalf of the squatters on their land. This brings out another feature of the squatter areas - their low tax yield. With many substandard buildings dotting the area, and the occupiers not owning the land on which they stand, the tax yield from such areas is only a fraction of the cost of providing even educational facilities for the children of the squatters. In Whitehorse, it costs $272 to keep one student in school for one year. For the 190 squatter children of school age, this comes to $52,250.00. The 10 mills that the city levies for the school tax is handed over to the Territorial government. The Territorial government also collects taxes on squatter buildings outside the city boundaries. Again, this is a relatively small amount, since only the buildings are taxed, although many of those on Crown land in the south part of Sleepy Hollow are in excellent condition. While it was not possible to come to an accurate estimate of the total taxes paid by the squatters, it appears quite obvious that they represent only a small proportion of the cost of educating their children. Relocation of suitable dwellings on lots in town, and the transfer of others to Territorial subdivisions would certainly result in a much larger tax income for both the city and the Territorial government.

(vi) Married Couples without children

Married couples without children numbered 49 (17.1% of the total households). They were noticeably concentrated in Sleepy Hollow, East of the Tracks (14 out of 48 households) and in the Wye area (7 out of 27 households). Where both husband and wife worked, these couples were the most prosperous among the squatter population; one such couple owned a Ford Thunderbird.

(vii) Old Age Pensioners

Among the single people interviewed were a number of old age pensioners. They represented 18 households in all - fourteen single men, two single women, and two couples. The plight of these old age pensioners impressed itself forcibly on the writer. One man had permanent employment; some others worked as and when they could. Most lived in squalid conditions,

and all suffered from loneliness and the feeling that they were forgotten people. Some of these old age pensioners had devoted much of their life to the Yukon; one woman had come over the "trail of '98". The writer found these people notably lacking in self pity. Rather they displayed a fierce pride and independence. While many were in receipt of welfare assistance, all made great efforts to live within their very limited means.

The Yukon Territorial Council showed their awareness of the problems of the old age pensioners when they discussed the idea of a home for these people during their November, 1960 session. On the basis of the interviews with the old age pensioners in the squatter areas, the writer would like to put forward some suggestions for accommodating the group. The idea of a "home" appeared to be anathema to many of the old age pensioners, who expressed a desire to be left to look after themselves. With the years, fewer are able to do this, and two of the old age pensioners interviewed had only recently been discharged from hospital, after suffering serious accidents. One was in hospital at the time of the survey. The most suitable arrangement for accommodating those old age pensioners would be in a series of individual cabins grouped around a central court, rather than in a consolidated apartment block. Minimum facilities for each cabin should include a bed and chest of drawers, a small electrical stove for cooking, a table and chair, an easy char, and a radio. Washing and toilet facilities should also be installed in each cabin. If they wish to prepare their own meals, they should be encouraged to do so, but communal messing facilities should also be provided. A recreation room would be a great boon; one of the churches hopes to provide an old people's centre in their proposed new church. A part of the old age pensioner's pension should be paid as rent, and some should go for board. Every encouragement should be given for the pensioners to work and make full use of their abilities. One pensioner is an exceptionally skilled gardener, another a good carpenter, and two others were cooks - all could be usefully employed in building and running a project such as the one envisaged here.

The project should be advertised as "special accommodation for senior citizens", not as an "old peoples home". The difference is not merely semantic - it emphasizes the attention that must be paid to helping these people to maintain their self-respect.

A member of a service club in Whitehorse stated that they had been interested in doing something for the old age pensioners, but lacked details of who they were, and where they lived. Certainly if accommodation for old people is planned as a project in which the whole community participates, it will aid greatly in convincing these people that they are neither forgotten nor neglected.

(viii) Overcrowding

How much overcrowding of dwellings is there in the squatter areas? This point is one that bears directly on the health and welfare of the squatters themselves. Definite evidence of overcrowding was found. It tended to occur in scattered parts of the squatter areas, and in one

part of South Whiskey Flats. Reference has already been made to this slum area. Here in a shack with an estimated floor space of 200 square feet, lived a man, his wife, and their seven children.

That there cannot be a great deal of overcrowding is shown by the breakdown of households. Only 39% of all households consisted of married couples with children, and 60.4% of these had three or fewer children. In the course of the survey, only four households were noted in which more than one married couple were living together in a single dwelling. Overcrowding would manifest itself more seriously in this aspect if it were a marked feature of the squatter areas.

Where overcrowding of dwellings did exist it was serious. Some examples noted were an unmarried couple with five children living in a small cabin (South Whiskey Flats), a married couple with six children, four of them under school age occupying half a large Quonset (Sleepy Hollow, East of Tracks), a single man and his five children living in a small shack (South Whiskey Flats), a married couple with seven children living in a small cabin in poor condition (Wye Area). Inevitably, overcrowding was typical of the low income group, and of the unemployed. In the four instances cited, two breadwinners were unemployed, one other worked as a cab driver, and the other drove a fuel delivery truck.

(ix) Racial Origin

Table VII gives the racial origin of the household heads in the squatter areas. Of the 287 individual households, the racial origin of 36 was not ascertained with certainty.

It would have been of interest to determine the birthplace of the 175 native Canadian household heads, but this was not possible in the time available. The general impression gained was that they hailed from every province in Canada. Several French Canadians were interviewed, including representatives of a clan comprising three brothers and their families living in separate houses west of the tracks in Sleepy Hollow. This clan numbered 21 people in all, and was the only such family group recorded. An American negro family and a single Chinese man were interviewed during the survey - an indication of the astonishing diversity of people to be found among the squatters.

There were significant percentages of Indians and New Canadians among the squatters.

TABLE VII. RACIAL ORIGIN OF SQUATTERS

Area	House-Holds	HOUSEHOLD HEADS Native Canadians	Indians of Indian or of White Status	New Canadians	Not Known	*
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	21	8	9	3	1	10
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	48	21	4	19	4	11
Moccasin Flats	44	26	5	6	7	8
Two Mile Hill	6	6	0	0	0	2
Whiskey Flats S.	47	31	8	1	7	17
Whiskey Flats N.	53	41	4	2	6	8
Wye Area	27	17	2	5	3	2
6th Avenue	12	8	1	1	2	2
1st Avenue	7	2	0	1	4	0
8th Avenue	20	13	1	4	2	1
Elsewhere	2	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	287	175	34	42	36	61
%		61.0	11.8	14.6	12.5	21.2

* Households containing at least one person of Indian ancestry.

(x) New Canadians

For this purpose, "New Canadians" are defined as immigrants who have been in Canada less than five years. Poles, Hungarians, Portuguese, Germans, Czechs, Italians, English - all live in the various squatter areas, mainly in the south part of Sleepy Hollow, where there is a veritable New Canadian "colony", and in scattered households in Moccasin Flats, the Wye area, and west of 8th Avenue. In all 42 households of New Canadians were noted, forming 14.6% of the total. With few exceptions this group lived in well built, well kept houses.

(xi) Indians and People of Indian Ancestry

The problem of the Indians, either of Indians or of white status, is one with implications far beyond those involved in the squatter situation. The squatter situation at Whitehorse merely heightens and localizes this problem.

In all, 34 households, 11.8% of all those in the squatter areas, were headed by Indians; eight only were of Indian status. These Indian households tended to be localized in certain areas - notably in Sleepy Hollow west of the tracks (8 out of 21 households), and on South Whiskey Flats (8 out of 47 households). The lot of most of the Indian people appears to be a miserable one, marked by poor housing, absence of proper sanitary facilities, large families inadequately clothed, and other signs of poverty.

Of the 34 Indian households, 18 had no steady source of income, and two of these were full time welfare cases. The complication that can ensue from the differing status of the Indians was indicated by one woman of Indian status. Of her seven children, three were of Indian status, four of white status. In South Whiskey Flats, seven of the eight Indian households living there had no steady source of income. Some Indians gained a meagre living from hunting and trapping, although it was reported of one man that he had been unable, in recent years, to recover even his expenses from this occupation. Some engage in the manufacture of handicrafts on a small scale. Where Indians do work, they tend to be employed as unskilled labourers.

One family used a cabin on Whiskey Flats only when the members were in town; another family was moving into a new house on the Whitehorse reserve in December, 1960. While it seems possible that Indians would fit into a low rental or low cost housing scheme, there were a number of Indians who would not fit easily into any relocation plan. This group included single men and women; some of the women have children. The Yukon Indian Agent supplied a list of names of Indians of Indian status, but of the 19 names on this list, only eight would be traced during the survey. The remaining names were those of single men and women, and of women with children. There is obviously a certain amount of inward and outward movement among the Indian population in the squatter areas, and also movement within the areas themselves.

Other than households all of whose members are of Indian or part Indian ancestry, there is another group among the squatters that requires separate consideration. This group consists of households in which there is at least one person of Indian ancestry. Sixty-one such households (21.2% of the total) were noted during the survey. Such households comprise white men with Indian wives, white men living in a common-law relationships with Indian women, and white men who have contracted temporary liaisons with Indian women. In the course of the survey it was difficult to determine into which category some couples fell. There was little attempt to conceal common-law relationships or temporary liaisons from the writer, and it seemed that such relationships were part of an accepted pattern of society, not only in the squatter areas of Whitehorse, but in the Yukon as a whole. Such a situation has occurred in practically every frontier area where European civilization has made contact with indigenous cultures. The Yukon has a high ratio of males to the females; in 1956, this ratio was 131 to 100 [1]. Many of the males are single young men and the result of the imbalance between males and females manifests itself in the sort of relationship encountered in the squatter areas.

Much difficulty will be encountered in any relocation of these households. Some of the squatters with children expressed their disapproval of the conduct of the families in which permanent or temporary relationships between white men and Indian women had been established. In some of these families, and in many Indian households, there was evidence of cruelty to children, disease, juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy and heavy drinking. The breadwinner of the families in which there was at least one person of Indian ancestry was invariably unemployed or earning a very low wage. The correlation between poverty and social problems is too obvious to be laboured here.

(xii) Problem Households

The fact that households in which there is at least one person of Indian ancestry are usually the poorest in the squatter areas means that many social problems in these areas appear to have a racial basis. Any relocation of problem households will inevitably appear to have a racial basis. In a city that has made as much progress as Whitehorse has in recent years, there will be no desire to have households presenting social problems living in the townsite, if there are alternative areas in which they can be relocated. Of the problem households, 69 were classified as such on the grounds that they presented serious social problems that would hinder relocation - heavy drinking, indigence, common-law relationship, temporary liaisons, child welfare problems, etc. Of these 69, no less than 32 households (46.4%) contained at least one person of Indian ancestry.

1. Census of Canada, 1956 "Population Ratio of the Sexes" Bulletin 1-8 DBS 10-5-57

The fact that those households in which there is at least one person of Indian ancestry appear to be the most mobile in the squatter areas, will further complicate any attempt at relocation.

The existence of a "twilight" group among the squatters cannot be disputed. Approximately a quarter of the squatters present social problems for which there is no simple solution. Seasonal unemployment, an excessive number of single men, heavy drinking, temporary liaisons with Indian women - all these are features of an interlated whole whose expression is seen in some of the households in the squatter areas. But the prevailing impression that this report is intended to convey is that such households constitute a part, and not the whole, of the squatter problem. The squatter areas do provide a refuge for the rejected, the unemployed, and Indians of white or Indian status who cannot adjust to life elsewhere in Whitehorse. Social stratification exists among the squatters, many of whom felt that the term "squatter" had been identified with the poorest and most unfortunate among their numbers.

The relocation of this group of problem households will be a major difficulty in the way of solving the overall squatter problem. Such people have neither the means, nor the desire, to build houses, or even to move to low rental accommodation. With no capital, small incomes and little desire to improve themselves, such households make poor tenants for even the cheapest of low rental accommodation. In the course of the survey, a number of families were interviewed who, despite low incomes, appeared to have a genuine desire to better their living standards. It must be emphasized that this study does not represent an attempt to separate the sheep from the goat by condemning one group of squatters. But unless a realistic view is taken of the problem households, any planned relocation will be hampered considerably.

For this group is in need of rehabilitation as well as of relocation. To push this group of problem households to one side, to segregate them, and to remove them from the townsite is not the answer. Few will oppose relocation. Many said, when interviewed "We'll move if the government wants us to". When they move, they will seek the cheapest accommodation available. Such accommodation will no doubt be found in the proposed transient area. The head of one of these problem households summed up his attitude when he told the writer "If they move me, I'll just tow my shack out on to the highway, and live on welfare".

Currently, some households in the squatter areas are living at a bare subsistence level. Since they own sub-standard accommodation, or rent it for a small sum, their shelter cost is low. If people in such areas who are in receipt of welfare assistance are relocated in an area where their shelter costs are higher, then such additional costs will undoubtedly be added to the welfare bill.

No estimate was made of the amount of welfare money spent on problem households in the squatter areas. In November 1960, only two

households, both of them Indian women with children, were being entirely supported by welfare payments. But a number of households were noted that had obtained welfare assistance at different times in the past, or were receiving a large part of their income from welfare sources when the survey was conducted. A social worker in the Territorial Welfare Department estimated that 80% of their cases were in the squatter areas. This confirms that the writer saw in the squatter areas, - such areas besides having a large proportion of responsible citizens, also were the refuge for the aged, the unemployed, the unemployable, the rejected, the heavy drinkers, the chronically ill. These latter people cannot, or will not, fit into the pattern of society now being established in the city. Whitehorse has experienced two booms, one associated with Gold Rush in 1898, the other with its wartime importance as a communications centre. Since 1950, when the city was formally incorporated, Whitehorse has made slow but steady progress. Any relocation of squatters involves the concept of urban renewal. Urban renewal includes the provision of more adequate housing, better services and more opportunities for re-creation and the enjoyment of leisure. For those squatters in full employment, the step up towards a better standard of living will not be too difficult. For the problem households, relocation might merely confirm their belief that they are undesirable. Unless steps are taken to offer opportunities for rehabilitation, the end result of any attempt at relocation may be more problems, and a bigger welfare bill.

Only the general lines of rehabilitation can be suggested here. It would appear that many of these households will move to the transient area when they are relocated. The establishment of overelaborate facilities will no doubt give rise to criticism, based on the belief that such people do not deserve anything but the most elementary facilities. Health, however, is a public matter. In their present location most problem households, because of their means or their inclinations do not run to the provision of adequate sanitary facilities, represent an extreme health hazard not only to themselves, but to the whole population of Whitehorse. If no attempt is made to upgrade their sanitary facilities when these people are moved, then the health hazard will still exist. The provision of adequate sanitary facilities and a pure water supply represent two practical moves towards up-grading this section of the squatter problem.

The establishment of some sort of social centre or mission in the transient area would also help. The religious leaders in Whitehorse with whom the writer spoke showed an acute awareness of the real difficulties of the problem households. Most of the churches in Whitehorse, however, are missionary endeavours, and the ministers are fully occupied with their congregations. One minister felt that any religious work among the problem households really required a person with social work experience. In the transient area, there would certainly be much work for such a person. The presence of a mission in the transient area would help the process of rehabilitating some of the problem households who would invariably end up there. The establishment, form, function and scope of such a mission, must, of course, depend on local initiative. Many of the problems of the problem households appear to be basically spiritual in nature. Any attempts at rehabilitation must be not merely material, but also religious in the broadest sense of the term.

(xiii) Income Levels

To conduct the survey in a satisfactory manner, without arousing suspicion and hostility, the writer did not make enquiries about the income of squatter families. It was surprisingly easy, however, to establish income levels on the basis of the occupation of the squatters and their standard of living (Table VIII). Whether the squatters owned their own house, the condition of the houses, the type of car owned, the services and facilities installed in the house, etc. all helped in classifying the squatters into four income groups - high (over $5,000), medium ($3,000 - $5,000), low (below $3,000) and those with no steady income. The classification refers only to income levels within the squatter areas. Under "no steady source of income" are grouped households part or all of whose income is derived from welfare assistance, and old age pensioners, as well as those in which the wage earner is unemployed. Under "low income", therefore, come only households in which one or more person works, but whose total yearly income does not exceed $3,000.

TABLE VIII. INCOME LEVELS OF SQUATTERS

Area	House-Holds	No steady source of Income	HOUSEHOLDS WITH Incomes Exceeding $5,000	Income Between $3,000 - $5,000	Incomes Below $3,000
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	21	8	0	9	4
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	48	10	6	26	6
Moccasin Flats	44	11	5	21	7
Two Mile Hill	6	1	0	5	0
Whiskey Flats S.	47	16	2	25	4
Whiskey Flats N.	53	21	2	25	5
Wye Area	27	3	8	14	2
6th Avenue	12	5	0	6	1
1st Avenue	7	0	1	6	0

Area	House-Holds	No Steady Source of Income	Incomes Exceeding $5,000	Income Between $3,000 - $5,000	Incomes Below $3,000
West of 8th Avenue	20	5	0	15	0
Elsewhere	2	1	0	0	1
Total	287	81	24	152	30
100%	100	28.2	8.3	53.0	10.4

The table of income levels merely confirms what has already been stressed about the squatter areas - that a large part of the population of these areas is made up mainly of the unemployed, and low income groups. In the townsite, the cost of lots and the building standards ensure that only people with a certain level of income will live in their own houses or rent dwellings there. The same applies to the new Riverdale subdivision, where C.M.H.C. standard houses are the minimum acceptable. In the squatter areas, there are no building standards and "lots" are free to those who care to occupy them.

At the upper end of the income scale are a group of families whose annual income exceeds $5,000; only 8.3% of the squatters had an estimated income above this figure. Among this group are a number of young married couples. In such case, both husband and wife usually work, and some had no plans for establishing permanent residence in Whitehorse. Their aim was to live as cheaply as possible, make as much money as they could, and then leave the Territory. This attitude of "cleaning up then clearing out" was less prevalent among the squatters than might be expected. Such an attitude usually characterizes modern frontier regions, where high wages compensate for difficulties in living conditions. Whitehorse and the Yukon are slowly moving out of the frontier era of development, and as the population becomes more stable and less mobile, there are fewer opportunities for "big money" in and around Whitehorse. Because of the seasonal nature of construction, mining and other occupations in the Yukon, anyone coming in from outside the Territory must be prepared to either winter without pay, or return south. One group not encountered during the survey, but who undoubtedly form a significant percentage of the population of the squatter areas during the summer, were seasonal workers from outside the Territory. The high income group interviewed during the survey represented two different types of squatters - those who had initially established themselves in the squatter areas, increased their income and considerably improved their standards of living, and those to whom Whitehorse was a temporary home, but who had well-paid all year round employment. In the first category, a few squatters were encountered who had made plans to relocate in Riverdale or elsewhere in the Whitehorse district.

A few households probably earn as much as $9,000 - $10,000 a year, but the general income level is probably nearer $6,000 in this group.

The high income groups tend to be concentrated in two or three areas. No less than eight were noted in the Wye area, which has already been distinguished as a squatter area characterized by good houses. Six of this group were noted in Sleepy Hollow East of the Tracks, and five in Moccasin Flats.

Whiskey Flats was noteworthy in having only four households, out of a total of one hundred, with an estimated income of more than $5,000. The high level of unemployment and the absence of households with large incomes characterize Whiskey Flats, and confirm that this area is the least affluent of those in which squatters live.

One of the difficulties involved in the relocation of the high income households is the investment that such households have made in their houses. Some are equipped with running water and other facilities, and soil has been brought in to make gardens in places. In most cases these houses can be moved, but this may be a costly procedure.

More than half the households (53.0%) in the squatter areas fall into the medium income group, with total annual incomes of between $3,000 and $5,000. This heavy concentration of households with such an income emphasizes the nature of the squatter areas as a site for households who, for economic reasons, believe that they cannot afford to live in town. Heads of such households feel they must make every effort to cut living costs. In the squatter areas, rental costs are low, and municipal taxes non-existent. At the lower end of this group, it becomes very difficult for a man to support a family in Whitehorse.

A relatively small proportion of the households in which the breadwinner was regularly employed in the squatter areas earns less than $3,000 a year. Only 30 households (10.4% of the total) had an estimated income below this figure. People earning less than $3,000 a year definitely fall into an economically marginal group. While such an income will support a single man, it is barely adequate to house, clothe and feed a family in Whitehorse. For families with such a low income, there are few, if any, alternates to living at present as squatters.

The key to the understanding of the squatter situation lies in the combined percentages of low income people, and those with no steady source of income. In all, 111 families, 38.6% of the total, were noted in these categories. This is the heart of the squatter problem. Any individual, with or without a family, who arrives in Whitehorse with little or no capital, or who can get only a seasonal or a poorly paying job, inevitably ends up in the squatter areas. As the tradition of frontier living remains strong in Whitehorse, coupled with a firm belief in non-existent "squatters rights", little has been done - or could be done -

to prevent this movement into the squatter areas. Any solution to this problem must hinge on finding an alternate site or place for housing low income and seasonably unemployed workers. This group must be distinguished from the problem households already discussed. With low income and seasonably employed households, there are no difficult problems involved in relocation other than those occassioned by the lack of money. A public housing scheme and the establishment of a home for senior citizens will take care of some of the 111 households in the low income and unemployed group as defined above. The remainder will no doubt move to the transient area; here many no doubt will require welfare assistance, unless the cost of living in this transient area is the same as that in the present squatter areas.

The seasonal nature of employment has already been touched upon, and in any planned relocation, it must be taken into consideration. Many men earn high wages in the summer, and live on unemployment benefits during the winter. This employment pattern characterizes the whole of the Yukon, and not just the squatter areas. As already noted, some single men pay rent in summer, but not when they are out of work in winter. A modification of this system might be helpful in any low rental or low cost housing scheme. If rent or payments were based on an annual sum, most of it being paid in the summer, the administration of such schemes might be more complicated, but the risk of delinquencies in payments would be decreased.

Table VIII shows some interesting features, and emphasizes one of the main problems of the squatter areas - the large number of households made up of seasonally employed single men. Of the 81 households in the squatter areas with no steady source of income, 18 (6.3% of the total) are old age pensioners. The remainder, with the exception of two full time welfare cases, were made up of households with seasonally employers workers, unemployed at the time of the survey. In these 63 households, there were 44 seasonally employed single men. The high concentration of such households in Whiskey Flats is noteworthy.

TABLE IX SEASONAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN HOUSEHOLDS IN THE SQUATTER AREAS

November 1960

Area	Total Households	Households with seasonally employed workers, unemployed in Nov. 1960	Total of Seasonally unemployed single men
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	21	5	7
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	48	10	5
Moccasin Flats	44	8	5

Area	Total Households	Households with Seasonally employed Workers, unemployed in Nov. 1960	Total of Seasonally unemployed single men
Two Mile Hill	6	0	0
Whiskey Flats South	47	15	10
Whiskey Flats North	53	19	14
Wye Area	27	1	0
Sixth Avenue	12	2	2
First Avenue	7	0	0
West of 8th Avenue	20	3	1
Elsewhere	2	0	0
TOTAL	287	63	44

In the summer, there appear to be plenty of opportunities for work in Whitehorse and the Yukon, and there is no [illegible] a rapid turnover of single men in the squatter areas. A number of single men were interviewed who had worked in the Yukon during the summer, and were spending the winter in Whitehorse, living on unemployment insurance benefits. During the summer some of these men will move into the Territory to work on such projects as the road to Fort MacPherson. Other men will no doubt move in from outside to occupy the cabins vacated by these men. In November, the number of single men living in the squatter areas is probably at a minimum, and indications are that the increase in squatter population that takes place during the spring and summer consists mainly of single men.

(xiv) Sources of Income

Table IX shows the type of occupation in which the squatters were engaged. Some squatters (17.1% of the total) were unwilling to give their place of employment, but a fairly complete breakdown of the remainder was obtained. As already noted, 81 households (28.2% of the total) had no steady source of income. Of the 157 household heads whose place of employment was known, no less than 46 were employed by the Department of National Defence, either the Canadian Army or the Royal Canadian Air Force. This heavy dependence upon employment by the Services characterizes Whitehorse, and direct and indirect defence spending is the basis of much of the economy of the city.

TABLE X . EMPLOYMENT - HEADS OF SQUATTER HOUSEHOLDS

Area	Total House-Hold	Place of Employ-ment not known	No Steady Source of Income	Place of Employ-ment known	Dept. of National Defence	Federal or Territ-orial Gov'ts.	British Yukon Navig-ation (White Pass)
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	21	3	8	10	7	0	0
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	48	9	10	29	6	2	3
Moccasin Flats	44	7	11	26	7	4	2
Two Mile Hill	6	1	1	4	3	0	1
Whiskey Flats S.	47	6	16	25	2	4	2
Whiskey Flats N.	53	6	21	26	8	1	0
Wye Area	27	1	3	23	9	1	1
6th Ave.	12	6	5	1	0	0	0
1st Ave.	7	1	0	6	1	0	1
West of 8th Ave.	20	8	5	7	3	0	1
Elsewhere	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total	287	49	81	157	46	12	11
%	100	17.1	28.2	54.7	16.0	4.2	3.8

TABLE IX. EMPLOYMENT - HEADS OF SQUATTER HOUSEHOLDS (Cont.)

Area	Services: Fuel Supply, Milk & Bread, Newspapers, Electric Supply, Buses & Cabs, Garages, Laundry, TV, CNT	Construction	Retail Stores, Hotels, Restaurants	Self Employed (Including Landlords)	United Keno Hill Mines	City	Trapping
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	1	3	3	3	5	1	2
Moccasin Flats	6	1	1	2	3	0	0
Two Mile Hill	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whiskey Flats S.	4	5	3	5	0	0	0
Whiskey Flats N.	9	4	1	3	0	0	0
Wye Area	4	0	3	2	3	0	0
6th Ave.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1st Ave.	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
West of 8th Ave.	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Elsewhere	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	29	15	12	17	12	1	2
%	18.1	5.2	4.2	6.0	4.2	0.3	0.7

Most of the squatters employed by the Department of National Defence were engaged on a temporary basis as labourers, semi-skilled workers, mechanics, etc. Some expressed uncertainty about the future of their jobs, and this is the major reason why many squatters are reluctant to consider relocation, or any improvement in their standard of living. Any increase in capital investment would merely tie up money in land and houses that might be worthless if the Army or the Air Force left the city. This attitude of mind is not restricted to the squatter population in Whitehorse, but appears to be general among the townspeople.

The squatters, having little capital, and being usually employed on a temporary or casual basis by the Army or the Air Force, have a tenuous basis of existence. One aim of this report is to present the squatter problem in the context of the city as a whole. The economic basis of the squatters existence, in most cases, is more precarious than that of the rest of the population of Whitehorse. In their complete dependence for employment on the services, 16.0% of the squatters (about a quarter to a fifth of all employed squatters) share the uncertainty of the other residents of Whitehorse. But the feeling of this group among the squatters is heightened by their terms of employment, should any cut back in staff take place. And so the dilemma of these squatters highlights that of the whole of Whitehorse.

Services and commercial undertakings - fuel supply, milk and bread delivery, electrical supply, garages, bus and taxis, laundries, retail stores, hotel and restaurants employed the main wage earners in 41 households (14.3% of the total). Usually the squatters were among the lowest paid in these undertakings. One squatter had a responsible position with a city garage but this was exceptional. In a city so heavily dependent as Whitehorse is upon the presence of nearby military camps, there is considerable reliance by retail stores, garages, hotels, etc. on purchases by personnel from these camps. Any reduction in the number of service personnel stationed near Whitehorse would inevitably result in a decline in the income of such enterprises. Any reduction in staff due to this would inevitably affect the squatters.

A surprisingly large number of squatters, 17 in all, were either self employed or derived most of their income from renting houses. These self-employed squatters included the owner of a travel agency, a chiropractor, the owner of a tire shop, and the owners of the commercial enterprises in the squatter areas.

United Keno Hill Mines and British Yukon Navigation Company play an important part in the economy of Whitehorse. The heads of 23 squatter households (8% of the total) were employed

by these two enterprises. A significant percentage (5.2%) were employed in construction work; many of the unemployed noted during November, 1960, probably worked on construction in the summer. The Federal and Territorial Governments employed 12 heads of households.

(xv) Cost of Living in Whitehorse

To appreciate fully the problems of households in the low and medium income group living in Whitehorse, some details of the cost of living in the city will be given. The cost of living is at the basis of the squatter problem. Most of the squatters are unwilling, or unable, to accept the financial burdens of living elsewhere in the city. To what extent this attitude is justified is not within the writer's terms of reference. What follows should be useful in any planned relocation, in showing the costs of living in the townsite, compared to those in the squatter areas.

In the course of casual conversation with citizens of Whitehorse, complaints about the high cost of living figured prominently. Such complaints, however, are not uncommon in northern settlements. The cost of rental accommodation has already been commented on. It does appear that these are high when compared with southern Canada, even though some of the accommodation offered is substandard. Apartment rentals usually do not include heating and water costs.

The most general complaint about the cost of living in Whitehorse centred on the charges made for services. The budget of a man occupying a small house in the townsite with his wife was examined in detail; this man had receipts for all expenditures detailed:

The budget was as follows (for the year 1959):[1]

Rent	$ 960.00
Groceries	1,098.62
Heating (Oil)	196.83
Propane (Cooking)	76.30
Electricity	178.34
Car	1,288.39
Medical Expenses	378.00
Charity	402.55
Total	$4,579.03

[1] The Yukon Electrical Company decreased its charges in March, 1961, reducing electricity costs by from 10-18% (Whitehorse Star March 2, 1961)

The car and charity expenditures appear to be high, but the basic living cost is probably somewhat on the low side. The house is a small one, with only two bedrooms. The basic rental and fuel cost, however, is $1,411.47, and this is probably a minimum figure for any small house in Whitehorse. The grocery costs, at a monthly average of $91.55, are not abnormally high, and are in line with food costs in southern Canada.

To the above costs must be added municipal taxes, including local improvement tax, and the cost of sewer and water services, and of garbage collection. The present mill rate in Whitehorse is a little over 32, with land assessed at 100% of its value and improvements at 50%. For a $10,000 house on a $1,000 lot, the taxes would come to $198.00. Added to this is $120.00 for water and sewer services, $24.00 for garbage collection, and $32.50 for local improvement tax. These charges total $384.50. Added to the rental and fuel costs, the total basic cost of living in a small rented house in the townsite comes to $1,795.97; for a homeowner, taxes and fuel and power costs come to $835.97.

Although this household is in some ways typical of those in the townsite, the fuel costs are lower than those in most homes. One Whitehorse fuel dealer has a budget scheme costing $30 a month per house through the year, although monthly fuel costs in the winter can run as high as $60 for large houses.

It is instructive to compare the cost of living in the townsite and in the squatter areas, basing the comparison on essential costs only. The difference in rental costs between the two sections of town has already been noted; it is probably possible for an average family to save over $300 a year by renting accommodation in the squatter areas rather than in the townsite. Home owners in the squatter areas pay for their water on a per gallon basis, if it is delivered by the city. Water from the Yukon River is always available to those who do not wish to pay $1 for 50 gallons of water. There is a possible saving here of $120 a year. Not owning the land on which their houses stand, and with relatively few houses of great value few squatters would pay as much as $50 a year in municipal taxes, compared to an average of approximately $200 in the townsite. Nor would they pay the $32.50 local improvement tax. So far, then, home owners living in the squatter areas save as much as $352.50 in basic living costs. By using a combination of wood and oil stoves for heating and cooking, the fuel bills can be cut down considerably, although this can also be done in the townsite. The $360 budget plan cost for fuel oil, and the $75 (approximate) expenditure for propane could probably be halved. Complete reliance on wood stoves for cooking and heating would save $435.00, less the cost of the wood.

The figures reinforce the dominant reason why so many squatters live where they do. Squatting in Whitehorse is an economic proposition, and differences in basic living costs between the townsite and the squatter areas can go as high as $700 or $800 for a home owner. Savings can be effected on fuel costs, water charges, and municipal taxes. For marginal income groups in Whitehorse, the squatter areas offer the cheapest place to live.

(xvi) Land Costs in Whitehorse

Basic to an understanding of the squatter problem is a consideration of the price of land in the Whitehorse area. Complaints about land costs were often voiced to the writer. The townsite has only a limited area on the gravel flat and all this area, with the exception of Lot 19, is presently occupied by buildings. One of the notable features of Whitehorse is the large amount of land in the townsite that is used for service buildings and stores, and for vehicle parking. This represents an undesirable use of land in Lower Whitehorse, since good land for building is so scarce, and also from the traffic point of view.

A "cheap" lot in the townsite costs $1,200 for 5,000 square feet. Land occasionally comes on the market at this price, but an average figure for the cost of a lot in Lower Whitehorse is probably nearer $2,000 - $3,000. A church in Whitehorse paid $3,000 for a 50' x 100' lot; a similar sized lot nearby was priced at $5,000. Land is not only expensive, but scarce in Lower Whitehorse. The only alternative for any new resident wishing to buy land and build a house in Whitehorse is to move into one of the Territorial subdivisions. The nearest subdivision to Lower Whitehorse is Riverdale, across the Yukon River. Here all lots are sold with services installed, and the cost of single lots ranges from $1,200 to $2,000. Since C.M.H.C. standard house sells for approximately $11,000, any newcomer must be prepared for an immediate capital outlay of $1,200 (the price of the lot serves as the down payment on the house), and to take on commitments for another $11,000. In the present state of the Yukon's economy, and because of uncertainty about the future of Whitehorse, there are few newcomers to the city who would be willing to invest a large sum of money that might be lost if the Department of National Defence cut down its labour requirements among the city's population.

The other alternative sites for settlement are strung along the Alaska Highway in the Territorial subdivisions at Mile 910 (Macrae), Mile 912 (Canyon Crescent), Mile 921 (Porter Creek), Mile 923 (Crestview) and Mile 925. Lots in these Territorial subdivisions can be bought for as little as $150, although the average price is between $200 and $250.

TABLE XI · OCCUPATION OF TERRITORIAL SUBDIVISIONS NEAR WHITEHORSE

Subdivision Mile	Number of Lots	Number of Lots Sold*
910	42	0
912	112	1
921	170	63
923	69	20
925	52	2
Totals	448	86

* As of March, 1961.

Table X indicates the popularity of the subdivisions as a site for settlement. Most of the lots in Riverdale have been sold, as have a third of those in Porter Creek. The subdivisions nearest to the townsite, then, are filling up, while the others are relatively neglected.

Cheap land and good cheap housing are basic needs in a developing economic frontier area such as the Yukon. Cheap land is available - but not near enough to the townsite to be attractive.

(xvii) Mobility

Mobility is here used in two senses - social and physical. The squatters are predominantly in the medium, low and very low income groups. There appears to be no bar to their movement into the townsite as home owners if they acquire sufficient capital to buy a lot and build a house. Some had plans to move into the townsite when interviewed, others were considering moving to the territorial subdivisions along the Alaska Highway. These subdivisions were not particularly favoured by the squatters as a site for relocation. When asked why they did not take advantage of the cheap land in the territorial subdivisions, squatters cited distance from town, high cost of electricity (the minimum monthly charge for electricity is $10.00), and absence of a proper water supply as reasons for not moving there.

Any squatters who were seriously interested in moving out of town would have done so when the subdivisions were first thrown open for settlement a few years ago. The attitude of the squatters towards the subdivisions was reflected in the statement of one man, who admitted the inevitability of his relocation, and said he would probably move to a territorial subdivision. He explained that he had been paying the White Pass a rent of $10.00

a month for the land on which his house stood. The advantages of having the facilities of Whitehorse, without any civic responsibilities, readily available more than outweighed this payment. In less than two years, this man's rent money would have bought a lot in one of the territorial subdivisions.

In the past, when squatters have moved, they have tended to move to other squatter areas. The opening up of "Sleepy Hollow" within the last few years has resulted in some movement out of the older squatter areas. There appears to be good evidence, based on the city assessment roll, of the emptying out of Whiskey Flats in recent years. Although parts of the flats are still crowded, moving away of squatters, burning down of houses, and other factors have helped to reduce the density of population here.

The squatter areas are not parts of the city from which it is impossible to move, if money, will and desire are present. The squatters, as individuals , are socially acceptable to the rest of the citizens of Whitehorse. Many lack the financial means to move elsewhere, or to move or rebuild their houses. Those who have steady, well-paid, year-round employment have invested considerable sums of money in their houses, and are unwilling to lose this investment by leaving the squatter areas. At the other end of the scale are squatters who have neither the means nor the desire to leave the squatter areas which, to them, are refuges. In this last group are the problem households already discussed. This particular group, if asked to move, would offer little opposition. Where they would move to, of course, is another matter, and the end result of their relocation might be the dispersion of the worst aspects of the squatter problem, rather than its solution. However much a problem Whiskey Flats and other squatter areas present, they at least localize the problems associated with the low income group living as squatters. If relocated, this group has the choice of moving elsewhere in the Whitehorse area or the Territory, or leaving the Yukon. There appears to be little doubt that most of this group will elect to stay near Whitehorse. Their proper relocation will pose many problems, but unless it is done with their interests in view, and their co-operation, the end result might merely be a wider dispersion of problems associated with low income groups, a great increase in welfare costs, and a considerable strain on the Territorial and City governments. On the other hand, dispersion may lead to self-improvement on the part of some squatters once they move to less crowded areas.

At this point, some discussion of the amount of criminal activity among the squatters is relevant. In discussions with members of the Whitehorse detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted

Police, the writer was informed that the lawlessness of the majority of the squatters was confined to their occupation of land to which they had no right. A study of the section "Before the Magistrate" in the "Whitehorse Star" for the first three months of 1961 revealed the sort of offence for which some squatters were convicted. A random selection included conviction for driving while impaired, car theft, assault, supplying liquor to Indians, bootlegging, gambling, and committing an indecent act. There was a notable concentration of such offenders among the squatters on Whiskey Flats.

The poverty of so many of the households in Whiskey Flats is reflected in the small number of vechicle owners there. This matter of physical mobility is important in any consideration of relocation. Table XI shows the number of vehicles owned by the squatters, and their distribution. In Whitehorse, as elsewhere in Canada, the car is a status symbol and the possession of one is a measure of a family's financial resources - in terms of cash or credit. Table XI confirms what has already been discussed - the relative affluence of the Wye area, with 19 households owning cars, and the poverty of Whiskey Flats, with a total of 32 cars among 100 households. Of the squatter households only 41.4% owned cars; 9.9% of the households owned trucks, pick-ups, vans or jeeps, most of which were used for business purposes. Few of the squatters living on low or marginal incomes can afford to own and run cars. These people will be the most difficult to relocate, since they cannot be moved beyond easy reach of the townsite and its shopping and other facilities.

TABLE XII VEHICLES IN SQUATTER AREAS

Area	Total Households	Households with cars	Households with trucks, pick-ups, vans, jeeps.	Households without cars	Not Known
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	21	6	4	11	0
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	48	26	5	15	2
Moccasin Flats	44	14	9	19	2
Two Mile Hill	6	3	1	2	0
Whiskey Flats South	47	13	6	22	6
Whiskey Flats North	53	19	3	31	0
Wye Area	27	19	0	7	1
Sixth Avenue	12	6	0	5	1

TABLE XII CONTINUED.

Area	Total Households	Households with cars	Households with trucks, pick-ups, vans, jeeps.	Households without cars	Not Known
First Avenue	7	3	0	3	1
W. of 8th Avenue	20	10	0	10	0
Elsewhere in Whitehorse	2	0	0	2	0
Total	287	119	28	127	13
%	100	41.4	9.9	44.4	4.2

(xviii) Length of residence in the squatter areas

Table XII shows how long the squatters have lived in the Yukon and in their present locations. Not all the squatters interviewed answered these questions; some were rather reticent about their past.

The table indicates that the squatter population in November 1960 was not a transient one. It was, in fact, an overwhelmingly stable one. There is no doubt that the squatter population has stablized in recent years, just as the population of the city of Whitehorse as a whole has reached a fairly steady level. Nearly half the squatters (46.6%) had been in the Yukon for periods of more than one year, but less than ten years. Only 12 squatters said they had been in the Yukon less than a year. At least sixty-two squatters (21.6% of the total) had been in the Yukon more than ten years; that this is an underestimate can be seen by the fact that 70 squatters told the interviewer that they had lived in their present location for more than ten years. Of the 250 heads of squatter households who gave their length of time as squatters, 58 (20.2%) had resided as such for less than a year. At least one hundred and ninety-two had been squatting for more than a year.

Only 17 households (5.9% of the total) had plans to move out of the squatter areas. One household was moving to Riverdale, others were going to the territorial subdivisions, and a few were planning to leave the Yukon. A number of single men were spending the winter as squatters, and hoped to get work in construction or on building highways elsewhere in the Yukon when spring came.

(xix) Attitude of squatters to relocation

The reaction of the squatters towards relocation varied considerably. Some were extremely enthusiastic about the idea, and told

TABLE XIII. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF SQUATTERS (as of Nov. 1960)

Area	Households	Length of Residence in the Yukon						
		Not Known	Few Weeks	More than a few wks, but less than a year.	One to Five Years.	More than five, but not more than ten.	More than 10, but not more than twenty.	More than twenty years.
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	21	15	0	0	1	5	0	0
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	48	9	1	2	22	10	3	1
Moccasin Flats	44	15	0	0	9	13	6	1
Two Mile Hill	6	3	0	0	0	0	2	1
Whiskey Flats S.	47	18	0	2	10	5	10	2
Whiskey Flats N.	53	10	0	2	11	10	15	5
Wye Area	27	3	0	2	9	8	5	0
6th Ave.	12	3	0	0	4	1	4	0
1st Ave.	7	1	0	2	2	1	1	0
West of 8th Ave.	20	2	0	1	7	6	2	2
Elsewhere	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	287	79	1	11	75	59	49	13
%	100	27.5	0.3	3.8	26.1	20.5	17.1	4.5

TABLE XIII (CONTINUTED)

Length of residence as squatters on present site

Area	Not Known	Few Weeks	More than a few weeks, but less than a year.	One to Five Years	More than five, but not more than ten	More than ten, but not more than twenty	More than twenty.
Sleepy Hollow W. of Tracks	4	2	1	8	6	0	0
Sleepy Hollow E. of Tracks	2	7	10	27	2	0	0
Moccasin Flats	7	2	5	19	9	2	0
Two Mile Hill	0	0	1	2	3	0	0
Whiskey Flats S.	8	6	5	17	7	3	1
Whiskey Flats N.	7	2	4	17	13	10	0
Wye Area	4	1	4	11	6	1	0
6th Ave.	2	0	2	7	0	1	0
1st Ave.	1	0	3	1	1	1	0
West of 8th Ave.	2	0	1	13	4	0	0
Elsewhere	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total	37	20	38	122	51	18	1
%	12.9	7.0	13.2	42.5	17.8	6.3	0.3

the interviewer that they had been long awaiting a chance to express their views on the subject. Others were apathetic and disinterested. The attitude of this group was summed up by an Indian women living in the slum area in South Whiskey Flats who said merely, "We like it here". Others were violently opposed to the idea, and suspicions of any projected move. They told the interviewer that they had invested a great deal of money in their houses, and were not willing to see them "pushed into the river".

In general the responsible squatters favoured relocation. Some wanted the squatter areas subdivided into lots, and lots sold or leased. This arrangement is impracticable, except perhaps in the Wye area and west of Eighth Avenue. If cheap land is available near Whitehorse, and if the squatter houses worth moving can be shifted, or mortgage money supplied to build low cost houses, there appear to be few difficulties to relocating the responsible members of the squatter populations. Of the remainder, some presently renting accommodation in the squatter areas have neither the capital nor the desire to build houses elsewhere in the Whitehorse area. They can best be accommodated in low rental apartments. Another group, probably representing about a fifth to a quarter of the present squatter population consists of the unemployed, the unemployable, the sick and those posing various social problems. With this group can also be classed the summer transients who seek only the cheapest place to live when they arrive in Whitehorse. For this part of the squatter population, special arrangements will have to be made. The setting up of a territorial transient area near Whitehorse, with lots for rent, and on which few building standards would apply, would go some way towards meeting the needs of these people.

Essentially, however, the relocation of this group must involve some consideration of rehabilitation also. For in the relocation of this group lies an exceptional opportunity for community development. If the welfare cases, the problem households, the heavy drinkers, the indigent Indians and Metis are segregated from the rest of the squatters who wish to better themselves, this will only be the first step towards their rehabilitation. If this group is thrust aside in a special area without any care and attention being paid to their needs - both physical and spiritual - a transient area will merely localize and probably intensify the worst of the problems associated with the present squatter areas. A community spirit and an attitude of mutual aid is strongly marked in the squatter areas. This spirit, guided and encouraged, could be a strong factor in rehabilitating many of the more unfortunate social welfare cases in the transient area. An active pursuit of the aims of proper community development, and the encouragement of the attitudes of co-operation and of self-help would at least ensure that the transient area and its occupants do not degenerate. Any transient area could easily become a permanent eyesore and a financial and social liability. On the other hand it could develop into an experiment in community development that would bring hope to what is, at present, a depressed section of the population of Whitehorse.

(xx) Attitude of the Other Citizens of Whitehorse Towards the Squatters

No discussion of the Whitehorse squatters would be complete without some mention of the attitude of the other inhabitants of Whitehorse towards this group. Expressions of opinion about the squatters ranged from condemnation to deep concern. The squatters were "shirking their civic responsibilities", "driving big cars and not paying anything towards the cost of running the town", "guys living with Indian women" - sentiments such as these were often voiced. The religious leaders expressed deep concern about the poverty and misery encountered in such areas as Whiskey Flats. The welfare agencies, the RCMP and the public health authorities give the impression of having a sympathetic attitude towards the squatters - sympathetic in the sense that they had a true appreciation of the sort of problems involved. These agencies combined an ability to deal fairly with the squatters, a deep interest in helping these people to help themselves, and an awareness of what could be done to eradicate the real roots of the worst of the squatter problem - poverty, ill-health, loneliness and a sense of rejection.

The overwhelming impression gained during the writer's stay in Whitehorse was that very few people in the city really knew who the squatters were, and how they lived. Most people spoke only from casual acquaintance with squatters. The RCMP were familiar with the lawbreakers, the welfare workers with their cases, the public health authorities with the sick. Other individuals would say of the squatters that they knew "so and so, who has a good job, and is earning plenty of money", but their knowledge did not extend beyond an acquaintance, socially or professionally, with a few of them.

The degree of opposition to any urban renewal scheme is directly proportional to the amount of understanding and knowledge of the people to be involved in relocation. When an urban renewal scheme in Montreal or Toronto arouses interest - and protest - this soon dies down, and the necessity of having to relocate a group of slum dwellers is accepted. In any large city, however, only a very small part of the population is relocated at one time. In Whitehorse, the squatters form about one third to one quarter of the population. Opposition to their relocation may become particularly vocal and violent. There are many, no doubt, who will feel that the squatters are being pampered or treated as a special group.

At present, the squatter population is a distinct liability to Whitehorse. Not only are the squatter areas unsanitary eyesores, posing serious public health and fire problems, but the tax income from these areas is negligible, and the expenditure on welfare assistance, servicing and policing is high. These areas are a constant drain on city and territorial funds. In effect, three-quarters of the population of Whitehorse are shouldering the total cost and the full responsibility for running the city.

Any condemnation of the squatters, however, should be tempered by the realization of what this group contributes to the city. If each squatter household spends only $2,000 a year (and this is almost certainly an underestimate), their total annual contribution to the city's economy is in the neighbourhood of $600,000. Their payments for food, fuel, services, etc. almost certainly exceed a millon dollar annually.

Urban renewal schemes carried out elsewhere in Canada have resulted in revitalizing many communities, in cutting down welfare and public health costs, in increasing tax revenue, benefitting the local economy and putting a higher standard of living and better health within the reach of many depressed and low income families.

Whitehorse is a city with a high degree of socialization, a strong community spirit and a large number of churches, clubs, and associations. There are no apparent barriers to participation in these activities by any squatters wishing to take part. At present the squatters fit, rather uneasily it is true, into the fabric of the city. Any relocation project will involve a great deal of social dislocation and an acceptance by the other inhabitants of Whitehorse of the people now living as squatters as full citizens of the city. Essentially the relocation of the Whitehorse squatters must be viewed as a community project, and one involving every person in the city. No matter what help is given by the Federal and Territorial governments, unless the people of Whitehorse themselves become deeply involved in relocation the spirit required to make a success of the resettlement of the squatters will be absent. While undoubtedly the clearing out of the present squatter areas, and the resettlement of squatters elsewhere will involve special benefits, or special hardships, for some, in the long run there is no question but that the programme will result in overall benefits for the entire population in the Whitehorse area.

CONCLUSION

The squatter problem in Whitehorse illustrates what can happen in a frontier area, with a tenuous economic base, where attractive land and accommodation near a townsite is costly and scarce. There is an added difficulty in the case of Whitehorse in that the city and its economy rely heavily on the nearby establishments, especially the Northwest Highway System, operated by the Department of National Defence. The people of Whitehorse feel insecure about the future of their city. The considerable achievements in municipal improvement that have been made in recent years are all the more creditable in view of this uncertainty.

Fears about the future of the city were often expressed by the squatters and by other citizens of Whitehorse. One major difference between the squatters and the other citizens of Whitehorse is that the squatters have a smaller stake in the future of the city. For various reasons, this group has not committed itself as deeply as have the other inhabitants by their purchase of land and the acquisition of houses.

The whole question of the squatters has been complicated by a partisan, often emotional, approach to this group. The political power of the squatters has also had to be considered. This report has attempted to examine, objectively, who the squatters are, how they live, and what their outlook and attitude is towards their present lot, and towards any prospect of relocation.

Whatever proposals are made to deal with this group, one important point must be kept in mind. The Yukon is a vast land with a small population. Any future developments in the Territory will depend on an increase in its population, and on a movement into the Yukon of married men with families who will form the basis of a settled stable population. To encourage the movement of such people into the area, the provision of adequate housing and other accommodation is an absolute necessity. For the basic resource of the Yukon is its people, with their spirit of independence and adventure, and their willingness to make a home in a frontier environment. And the squatters of Whitehorse represent a significant percentage of the Yukon's people.

If this group is considered as a nuisance and a liability to the City, and an attempt made merely to get rid of them, rather than to resettle the whole group in accordance with their needs and desires, the Whitehorse area, and the Yukon generally, can only lose. If, on the other hand, the problems of this group are studied, and the measures taken to relocate them are accepted by all the inhabitants of Whitehorse, their resettlement could mark a great step forward in the history of the Yukon. But, whatever happens, the fact that the squatters are individuals, with all that implies in the way of difficulty and promise, cannot be ignored. It has been the aim of this report, and the hope of its writer, to show the squatters as such.

APPENDIX I

DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this report, the following definitions are accepted.

Lower Whitehorse

The area west of the Yukon River, and east of the escarpment. On the south its boundaries coincide with those of the city; on the north its limit is defined by the fence surrounding the Royal Canadian Electrical and Mechanical Engineering workshops and by the Two Mile Hill Road.

Townsite

For convenience, this term refers to the city of Whitehorse but excludes the squatter areas.

Squatter

A settler having no legal title to the land occupied by him, or a person renting a dwelling whose owner has no legal title to the land on which the dwelling stands.

Slum

An area planned for residential use where deteriorated, overcrowded, unsanitary or unsafe structures jeopardize public welfare.

Household

An economic and social unit comprising all persons living in a single dwelling.

Nuclear Family

A married man and woman with their children.

Dwelling

Any building used for human occupancy.

House

Any reasonably structurally sound dwelling, with two or more rooms, used for human occupancy.

Cabin

A reasonably structurally sound dwelling, with two or more rooms, used for human occupancy.

Shack

A substandard, poorly constructed, badly maintained dwelling, usually with only one room, used for human occupancy.

Substandard

When referring to dwellings this term denotes inadequate space for the number of occupants, the absence of suitable sanitary facilities, and of services, and a poor construction or condition of the fabric of the building.

APPENDIX II STATISTICAL SUMMARY

WHITEHORSE SQUATTERS

1. Buildings

Area	(a) Buildings	(b) Dwellings	(c) Occupied Dwellings	(d) Vacant Dwellings	(e) Garage and Stores	(f) Work-shops	(g) Service Buildings
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	30	22	21	1	6	2	0
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	61	56	46	10	4	0	1
Moccasin Flats	57	51	42	9	5	0	1
Two Mile Hill	11	6	6	0	5	0	0
Whiskey Flats South	68	51	44	7	14	3	0
Whiskey Flats North	66	56	48	8	10	0	0
Wye Area	30	27	27	0	3	0	0
Sixth Av.	13	13	12	1	0	0	0
First Av.	10	8	7	1	1	1	0
West of 8th Av.	18	18	17	1	0	0	0
Elsewhere In Lower Whitehorse	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	366	310	272	38	48	6	2
%	100		74.3	10.3	13.1	1.7	0.5

2. OCCUPIERS

Area	(a) Households	(b) Interviews	(c) Total Individuals	(d) Adults	(e) Children of School Age
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	21	21	96	41	31
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	48	46	153	90	28
Moccasin Flats	44	43	109	73	22
Two Mile Hill	6	6	24	9	11
Whiskey Flats South	47	44	162	83	37
Whiskey Flats North	53	51	143	80	31
Wye Area	27	26	88	51	14
Sixth Av.	12	11	24	19	0
First Av.	7	6	10	8	2
West of 8th Av.	20	18	52	34	14
Elsewhere in Lower Whitehorse	2	2	3	3	0
TOTAL	287	274	864	491	190
%	100		100	56.9	22.0

TABLE 2 (Cont'd)	(a) Pre School Children	(b) Married Couples with Children	(c) Single Men Living Alone	(d) Single Women Living Alone
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	24	11	5	0
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	35	19	10	0
Moccasin Flats	14	12	18	1
Two Mile Hill	4	3	3	0
Whiskey Flats South	42	23	12	1
Whiskey Flats North	32	17	22	1
Wye Area	23	11	4	1
Sixth Av.	5	3	6	2
First Av.	0	1	4	0
West of 8th Av.	4	6	5	1
Elsewhere in Lower Whitehorse	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	183	106	90	7
%	21.2	39.0	31.7	2.4

3. TENANCY

Area	(a) Owners of Buildings	(b) Tenants	(c) Buildings on BYN Land	(d) Buildings on Crownland	(e) Households on BYN Land	(f) Households on Crownland
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	21	0	30	0	21	0
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	37	11	33	28	25	23
Moccasin Flats	30	13	10	47	8	36
Two Mill Hill	5	1	0	11	0	6
Whiskey Flats South	29	18	10	58	6	41
Whiskey Flats North	30	23	0	66	0	53
Wye Area	19	7	30	0	27	0
Sixth Av.	8	4	0	13	0	12
First Av.	5	1	10	0	7	0
West of 8th Av.	11	9	0	18	0	20
Elsewhere in Lower Whitehorse	2	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	197	87	123	242	94	192
%	69.3	30.5	33.7	66.3	32.8	67.2

4. INCOME

Area	(a) Steady Income	(b) No Steady Income	(c) Welfare Cases	(d) Old Age Pensioners
Sleepy Hollow West of Tracks	13	8	2	1
Sleepy Hollow East of Tracks	38	10	0	1
Moccasin Flats	32	11	2	4
Two Mile Hill	5	1	0	1
Whiskey Flats South	31	16	2	2
Whiskey Flats North	31	21	2	2
Wye Area	24	3	1	1
Sixth Av.	7	5	0	3
First Av.	6	0	0	0
West of 8th Av.	15	5	0	1
Elsewhere in Lower Whitehorse	1	1	1	2
TOTAL	203	81	10	18
%	71.5	28.5	3.5	6.3

P 1. Squatter areas in Lower Whitehorse.

1. Whiskey Flats.
2. Moccasin Flats.
3. Wye Area.
4. West of 6th. Avenue.
5. West of 8th. Avenue.
6. Sleepy Hollow.

Photo: Hougen's Ltd., Whitehorse.

P 2. Moccasin Flats from the air.

Photo: Hougen's Ltd.,Whitehorse.

P 3. Whiskey Flats(North) from the east bank of the Yukon River.

P 4. Looking down river from the east bank of the Yukon River east of Whitehorse. Moccasin Flats in left foreground, with Sleepy Hollow beyond.

P 5. View of North Whiskey Flats.

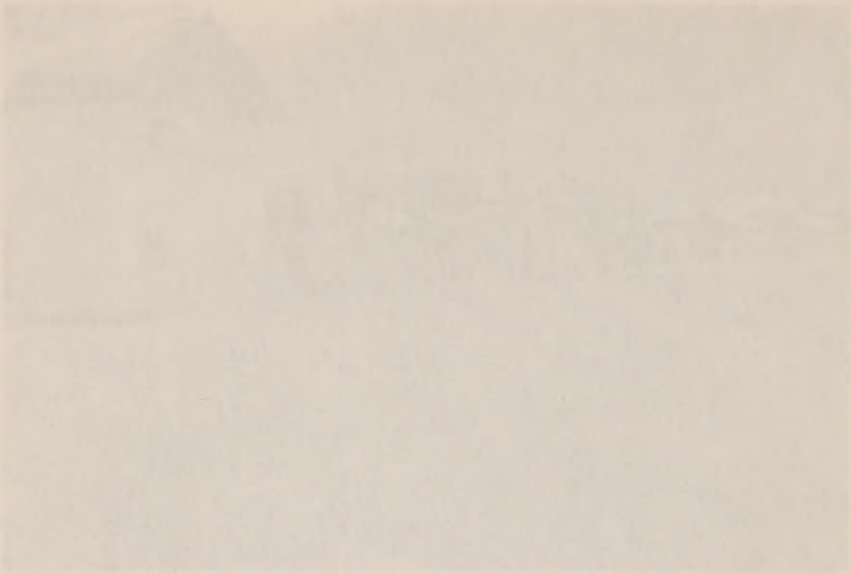
P 6. View of South Whiskey Flats showing shacks and cabins.

P 7. Well built houses at the south end of the Wye Area.

P 8. The Wye area has an attractive appearance, with good houses well sited.

P 9. Part of Moccasin Flats showing variation in dwelling type.

P 10. North part of Sleepy Hollow East of the tracks.



P 9. Part of Mocassin Flats showing variation in dwelling type.

P 10. North part of Sleepy Hollow East of the Tracks.